

The History of the Nizam Shahi Kings of Ahmadnagar.

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I.—ACCOUNT OF THE ORIGIN OF THE NIZÂM SHÂHÎ KINGS OF AHMADNAGAR.

Since God's eternal merey was closely connected with the preservation of the male line and the continuation of the kingdom and prosperity of the family, founded in vicegerency, who, from father to grandfather, have been crowned kings and rulers since the days of Bahman the son of Isfandiyâr and, before that, as far back as Kayûmars, He saved the firmly founded house of the pillars of the kingdom of the king of the world, Sultân Muḥammad Shâh Bahmanî, from the inroads of ruin and disintegration, and the misfortune of extinction and decay, by the birth of the successful and fortunate prince, a Farîdûn with the power of Jamshîd, protected by the one God, Abû'l-Muẓaffar Sultân Aḥmad Bahrî Nizâm Shâh. Although historians differ much in their accounts of that king of high birth, and the author of this noble work has seen in the royal library of the Nizâm Shâhî kings a treatise in the noble handwriting of His Majesty whose abode is Paradise,¹ at the end of which he had written, "The writer of this was Shaikh Burhân-ud-dîn, son of Malik Aḥmad Nizâm-ul-Mulk, son of Malik Nâib, who had from His Majesty the title of Ashraf-i-Humâyûn Nizâm Shâh;" yet that which has come before the eyes of the writer of these lines in some works on the history of the sultâns of the countries of the Dakan, and which he has heard from experienced old men of this country, is the story which is now to be related.

Historians of Aḥmad Nizâm Shâh have written as follows:—

When the king of the world, Muḥammad Shâh Bahmanî, was on the throne, some of the *amîrs* who were, by his orders, employed in collecting tribute from, and in laying waste, the country of the idolaters, captured a beautiful damsel. When they saw that she was worthy of the royal bedchamber, they sent her, with other gifts, to His Majesty. The modest virgin, on her arrival at court, found favour in the king's eyes, and was treated more kindly than any other member of the seraglio, as she excelled them all, not only in beauty, but also in courtesy, modesty, fidelity and understanding. Since it was God's eternal will that that Bilqis of the period, that Mariyam of the age, should be the shell which was to contain the gem of the vicegerency and the place of rising of the star of sovereignty, the plant of her hopes, after the Sultân had gone in into her, bore fruit, and became heavy therewith. When her days were accomplished, a prince was born, and the Sultân, on receiving news of the event, rendered thanks to God and gladdened his eyes with the sight of the child. The young prince was entitled Môtî Shâh, and received the name of Sultân Aḥmad. The king then bestowed gifts on all around him, and commanded the astrologers to draw the young prince's horoscope with the utmost care. They foretold, from the aspects of the seven planets, that the child would become king, and that the further he could be sent from the court and the capital, the better it would be for the interests of the State.

When they reported the result of their investigations, the king, though delighted by the bright future foretold for the child, writhed with anguish at the thought that he must part from him. At last he decided that the interests of the State would be best consulted by his sending the prince and his mother to Malik Ḥasan Humâyûn Shâhî, who ultimately obtained the titles of Majlis-i-A'lâ Mansab-i-Mu'allâ, and Malik Nâib, in order that that *vazîr* might send the prince and his mother to Râmgîr and Mâhûr, which were *parganas* far from the capital and held by Malik Nâib, and keep him in that country, taking the greatest pains in his education and in the care of him. Majlis-i-A'lâ Mansab-i-Mu'allâ Malik Nâib

was therefore summoned, and the Sultān took counsel with him on the project. Malik Nāib agreed that it would be best to send the young prince to Rāmgīr and promised, as a faithful servant, to neglect nothing that would be for the benefit of him and of his education. The Sultān accordingly carried out his design, and the education of the young prince was entrusted to Malik Nāib.

Some historians say that Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh² gave Malik Nāib a slave girl from his *ḥaram* and that when Malik Nāib took the girl to his *ḥaram* she was discovered to be pregnant. Malik Nāib of necessity brought the matter to the notice of the king, and it was decreed, with the connivance of the slave girl, that since that royal offshoot had first seen the light in Malik Nāib's house, Malik Nāib should thenceforth be his tutor, and afterwards when Maḥmūd Shāh came to the throne, the young prince (Aḥmad) was generally regarded as the son of Malik Nāib. But God knows the truth of all things.³

Majlis-i-A'lā (Malik Nāib) formed great hopes of advancement from the favour which had been shewn to him, and sent the young prince with a large retinue to Māhūr and Rāmgīr, which were his own *jāgīrs*, and took the greatest possible care of him. The king, too, inquired closely and constantly into the young prince's affairs and devoted much attention to his education, always seeing that he was well supplied with rich clothes, Arab horses, arms, and all that was understood to become his position as a prince, and sending them to him.

When the prince came to years of discretion, having devoted his time to the acquisition of accomplishments and learning, his talk was ever of arms, and the distinction and honour to be gained by their use, and he was ever conversant with them, so that kingship

² Sic. A mistake for Muḥammad.

³ This fictitious account of the origin of the Nizām Shāhī dynasty has apparently been fabricated by the author. The origin of the dynasty is well known. Its founder, Aḥmad Nizām-ul-Mulk, who afterwards assumed the title of Shāh, was the son of Ḥasan, entitled Malik Nāib. Ḥasan was a Brāhman, originally named Timā Bhat, who had been captured in his youth by Aḥmad Shāh Bahmanī in a campaign against Vijayanagar in 1422 or 1423. Although he was captured in Vijayanagar territory, he was a Brāhman of the Marāṭha country, his father, whose name is corruptly given as Bhareo, probably a version of Bhairōi or Bhairava, having belonged to the family of the *kulkarnīs* or *paṭwāris* of Pāthri on the Godāvari, and having fled from that place to Vijayanagar in order to escape the persecution to which he was subjected by the Muslims. From a further corruption of the name of Aḥmad's grandfather, the cognomen Bahri, often applied to the dynasty, was formed.

Sayyid 'Alī cites no authority for his story except some unnamed historical works and the oral testimony of some old men. The evidence on the other side, both positive and circumstantial, is overwhelming. There is the statement of Burhān Nizām Shāh I in his own handwriting, which is mentioned by Firishta (ii, 199) as well as by Sayyid 'Alī, that he was the grandson of Malik Nāib; there is the evidence of the historians Firishta and Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad, author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* that Aḥmad always passed and behaved as the son of Malik Nāib; and there is the action taken by Burhān Nizām Shāh I in 1518 when he demanded of 'Alā-ud-dīn 'Imād Shāh of Berar the cession of the town and district of Pāthri, then included in the Berar kingdom, in exchange for another district, on the ground that Pāthri was the home of his ancestors and that many of his relations still lived there. On 'Alā-ud-dīn's refusal to cede the district, Burhān I made war on him and annexed it.

The circumstantial evidence is also strong. Had Aḥmad been a Bahmanī prince, he would have called himself Bahmanī rather than Bahri, and when the feeble Maḥmūd was completely dominated by Qāsim, Barid-ul-Mumalik, he would have made some claim to the throne of his ancestors, or at least to the regency. The house of Bahman still commanded much respect, and the rebellion of the provincial governors, Yūsuf Khān of Bijāpūr, Fatṭullah 'Imād-ul-Mulk of Berar, and Sultān Qulī Qutb-ul-Mulk of Golconda was a revolt, not against Maḥmūd Shāh and his four feeble successors, but against the tyranny of the *maires du palais*, Qāsim and his son 'Alī Barid I, whose usurpation they resented. A prince of the royal house would certainly have commanded the allegiance of Qutb-ul-Mulk and 'Imād-ul-Mulk, and probably that of Yūsuf Khān also. As a matter of fact these three *amirs* were hostile to him.

The army surrounded Jond and captured it without much trouble, much spoil falling to the lot of the victors. The prince handed over the fort to one of his trusty officers, and marched on the fortress of Luhaka, which is known as Lohogāh.⁸

Lohogāh is situated on a high and rocky hill, and when the prince reached it he commanded his troops to surround the fortress and to harass the defenders in every way possible. The troops fought with great valour, and the defenders resisted them stoutly, but the army of Islām prevailed. The fort was taken by storm and the defenders were massacred, their bodies being thrown from the high rock on which the fort is built. The temples of the idolaters were overthrown, and mosques were built in their place. Much plunder was taken, and the prince, after appointing one of his officers *kotwāl* of the fort, marched on the fort of Tung and Nikona.⁹

When the prince and his army arrived before Tung and Nikona, the garrison, who had both heard of and seen, the invariable success and victory of the prince, refrained from offering any resistance, and came forth and submitted. The prince had mercy on them and granted them their lives, granting them immunity from any attack by his army. The army, however, obtained much plunder from that place, and the prince, placing one of his trusted officers in command of that fort, marched to Kondhāna,¹⁰ which was one of the greatest forts of that time.

As soon as the prince's army arrived at Kondhāna, that fort, like the others, was conquered, and the prince, after appointing one of his servants to command it, marched for Purandhar.¹¹

The prince encamped before Purandhar and his troops resolutely attacked. The garrison exerted themselves in its defence, but their efforts were of no avail, and the attacking force pressed them ever harder and harder, till they lost hope, and the fort was taken by storm, many of its idolatrous defenders being killed, and their houses plundered and then burnt. The prince bestowed the governorship of that fort and its dependencies on one of his officers and marched towards Bhorap.¹²

When the army arrived at Bhorap the prince, by liberally bestowing largesse, encouraged them to attack the place with such spirit that it was at once taken by storm, with much slaughter of the polytheists. Temples were overthrown and mosques were erected in their place, and much spoil fell into the hands of the victors, the wives and children of the miserable defenders being made captives. The prince then made arrangements for the restoration of the fortress by placing one of his officers in charge of it, and marched towards Marabdes.

⁸ Lohogāh is a fort of some antiquity and importance situated in 18° 42' N. and 73° 29' E. It was much used as a State prison by the NiẒam Shāhi kings.

⁹ Tung and Nikona are two hill forts, the former five miles to the south by west and the latter twelve miles to the south-east of Lohogāh.

¹⁰ A fort situated in 18° 22' N. and 73° 45' E. and now known as Sinhgāh, which name was given to it in 1647 by Sivaji, when he acquired it by means of a large bribe paid to the Muzammadan commandant.

¹¹ A hill fort situated in 18° 17' N. and 73° 59' E., now a sanatorium for European troops.

¹² A hill fort situated fifteen miles south-west of Lohogāh.

The garrison of Marabdes, who had heard of the fate of Bhorap and all other forts, profited by the example which had been given to them, and showed consideration for their wives and children by opening the gates of the fort and appearing submissively before the prince with shrouds round their necks. The prince had mercy on them and ordered his troops to molest neither their persons nor their property, but to destroy all temples and idols and to build mosques in their place. The prince collected an indemnity from them, and ordered a commandant for that fort, and officers to assist him, to be chosen, and a body of troops to be stationed there for its protection, and for the propagation of the holy law of Muhammad. These orders were carried out, and the mind of the prince was set at ease with respect to that fort.

The prince next marched to Jûdhan,¹³ and the army besieged that fort and attacked it with great spirit. The garrison at first defended that place bravely, but could not long endure the assaults of the prince's valorous troops, and at length came forth and humbly offered to surrender the fort. Their lives were spared, but the place was sacked, and the property of its inhabitants plundered and their houses destroyed. The prince appointed a trusty officer to the command of that fort, and the army then marched to the fortress of Khaj, and encamped before it.

The fortress of Khaj, like all other forts, was captured with very little trouble, all outward signs of idolatry were overthrown, and much spoil fell into the hands of the victors. The army then marched towards Kher Drug.

When the army arrived before Kher Drug¹⁴ the inhabitants were much alarmed, and submitted with great humility to the prince, who mercifully spared their lives and appointed one of his officers to the command of the fort.

The prince next marched on the fort of Moranjān,¹⁵ and cleared that fortress also of the base existence of evil men, uprooting the foundations of polytheism and infidelity, and thence marched for the fort of Tungî and Taronî.

Those forts were very soon captured and much spoil, both in money and kind, was taken by the troops.

Thence the prince marched to Maholî, and, having encamped before the fort, issued orders for an assault. His troops attacked the place with great valour, and at the first assault overcame the garrison and captured the fort, and many of the polytheists were slaughtered. Much plunder fell to the lot of the army of Islâm, and the idol temples were levelled with the ground. The prince appointed one of his servants to the command of the fort, and marched on Pâli.¹⁶

Pâli is a fortress situated on a high mountain peak sounded like a dome, extremely strong, and well-nigh impregnable. When the prince arrived before it, he ordered that a regular siege should be undertaken, and that the siege train should open fire upon it. The army set itself to obey these orders, and to capture the fort from its accursed and idolatrous defenders. The garrison defended the fort most strenuously, but to no avail, for weak gnats and ants, how numerous soever they may be, cannot resist the storm wind. At last victory declared for the Muslims; the vile misbelievers were overpowered, and this strong fortress fell into the hands of the prince. The troops proceeded to slay and

¹³ About thirteen miles north-west of Junnâr.

¹⁴ About twelve miles south of Poona.

¹⁵ A fort about forty-seven miles south-west of Junnâr.

¹⁶ A fort about forty-five miles west by north of Poona.

V.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE EXPEDITION OF THE PRINCE, UNDERTAKEN IN ORDER TO ASSIST THE KING, AND OF THE PRINCE'S WARFARE WITH THE ENEMIES OF THE EVERLASTING STATE.¹⁹

While these affairs were in progress, a number of the *amīrs* of the Dakan, being inclined to rebellion against the king of the earth, collected a large army and marched on Bidar with the object of stirring up strife, of which circumstance some mention has already been made. The king of the world at once wrote a *farmān* detailing the seditiousness and faithlessness of the *amīrs*, and sent it with speed to the prince, whom he summoned to the capital. As soon as the prince had read the *farmān* he turned his attention to his army, and, having assembled it, set forth for Bidar.

When the prince's army neared Bidar, the *amīrs* and officers of state went forth to welcome him and attained the honour of kissing his feet. Thence the prince hastened at once to court and humbly saluted the king, presenting to him a suitable *pishkash* of rich clothes and merchandise, horses and elephants, and receiving in return many marks of royal affection and favour. The king then complained to the prince of the contumacy of his enemies and took counsel with him regarding the suppression of the rebellion. The prince then bade the king take heart, for that he would exterminate the rebels. The king then thanked the prince and prayed to God for his success.

When the rebellious *amīrs* with their troops neared the capital the king went forth with the prince, Majlis-i-A'la, Manṣab-i-Mu'allā, Malik Nāib, and the *amīrs* and officers of state from the capital, and the royal forces were drawn up over against the rebel army. A fierce fight ensued, but since the disloyal *amīrs* were treading the path of rebellion, they were unable to attain their object. The prince displayed the utmost valour in the battle, and sent many, with his own hand, to hell. The rebels fought with great courage, but were at length compelled to give way, and fled. The victorious prince pursued them for several leagues, and put many to the sword, capturing all their property and effects, their horses, and their arms. He then returned and respectfully saluted the king, who embraced him affectionately, bestowed on him the high title of Ashraf-i-Humāyūn, NiẒām-ul-Mulk Bagri, and placed on his body a royal robe of honour, and on his head a royal crown, and the prince of the age, Ashraf-i-Humāyūn, NiẒām-ul-Mulk Bahri then obtained leave from the king to depart, and set out for his capital. On his arrival there he busied himself in the management of his kingdom and the administration of justice.

On several occasions after this, Sulṭān Ma'mūd Bahmanī was confronted by difficulties and dangers, and always appealed to the prince for help. Sometimes the prince answered the appeal in person, and after rendering such assistance as was required, returned to his capital, and on other occasions he sent to the king's assistance, with his army, his *amīrs*, such as Zarif-ul-Mulk, the Afghan, and others as will be clear from what has gone before.

¹⁹ The whole of this chapter is a perversion of historical facts. Ahmad visited the capital to support his father the regent, who was attempting to crush the foreign *amīrs*, headed by Yūsuf 'Adil Khān of Bijāpūr. Active hostilities began by a massacre of some of the Turkish troops. Fighting then began between the troops of Yūsuf 'Adil Khān and those of Ahmad and lasted for twenty days, in the course of which three or four thousand men were slain. The *ulamā* at length made peace between the factions. Yūsuf returned to Bijāpūr and Ahmad to Junnār but the Dakanī faction retained all power in the capital and Malik Nāib and Fathullāh 'Imād-ul-Mulk of Berar were regent and prime minister for the next three years.

VI.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE MARTYRDOM OF MAJLIS-I-Â'LÂ, MANSAB-I-MU'ALLA, MALIK NÂIB WAṢIYY-I-KHÂṢṢ, AND OF THE OCCURRENCE OF STRIFE AND CONTENTION BETWEEN THE VICTORIOUS PRINCE, AND THE AMÎRS OF THE DAKAN.

It has already been mentioned that most of the *amîrs* of the Dakan were constantly at strife and variance with the prince and with Malik Nâib, his tutor and foster-father, to whom was entrusted the regency at the capital of Bidar, and were speaking against them to the king, but, since the prince was under God's special protection, their plots came to nought, and the prince prospered ever the more and more, so that the despair and fear of his enemies increased, until, in A.H. 888 (A.D. 1483),²⁰ when the king with his army had marched against the infidels of Telingâna, the prince not being with him, the ill-disposed, finding Malik Nâib deprived of the prince's support and assistance, took advantage to fasten some accusation on that wise minister, and to accuse him to the king of base acts and wicked deeds, and urged the king to issue orders for his execution. The king harkened to their counsel and issued orders for the minister's death—orders which led not only to remorse, but to the ruin of his kingdom.

When Malik Nâib became aware of the plots of his enemies, he fled from the king's camp, but since fate had decreed his martyrdom, the screen of negligence was placed before his eyes, so that he did not take the way of safety, which lay in the direction of the prince's protection, but, reposing confidence in Pasand Khân, governor of the city of Bidar, who was one of his own *protégés*, he went to Bidar, and the wretch, Pasand Khân, whose temerity in committing an atrocious act has earned for him the title of *harim khâr*, made him a martyr and sent his head to the king.

When the news of Malik Nâib's martyrdom reached Ashraf-i-Humâyûn, Sultân Ahmad Bahri; he mourned for him and wept bitterly, and all his *amîrs* and all his army participated in his grief.

After this calamity the prince displayed greater anxiety than ever regarding the plots of his enemies, and paid more attention than formerly to collecting troops, and to preparing for revenge on his enemies.

Some say that the prince, after the murder of Malik Nâib, left the king's camp with 1,500 horse, all valiant soldiers, and went to Junnâr and strengthened the fortress of Shirner, which had hitherto not been a fortress of any great strength, and increased his forces until he had a most numerous and powerful army.

²⁰ This date is wrong by three years. Malik Nâib, Ahmad's father, was put to death in 1486. The *amîrs* generally were disgusted with his arrogance and complained against him to the king, who was chafing under the restraint to which he was subjected. The king requested Qâsim Barid-ul-Mamâlik, Dastûr Dinâr to rid him of Malik Nâib, and the latter, becoming avaro of the design against his life, fled from Warangal, where the court then was, to the capital, Bidar, and summoned his son Ahmad from Junnâr to his assistance. The king and the *amîrs* followed Malik Nâib towards Bidar, and Malik Nâib, not being strong enough to meet the royal army in the field, prepared to flee to Junnâr, carrying with him the contents of the royal treasury. Dilpasand Khân, governor of Bidar, whom Sayyid 'Alî calls Pasand Khân, pretended to be Malik Nâib's partisan, but deceitfully dissuaded him from fleeing and sent a secret message to the king saying that he was detaining Malik Nâib in Bidar and awaited instructions regarding him. The king replied that if Dilpasand Khân was a loyal subject he would send him Malik Nâib's head, Dilpasand Khân, at a private interview with Malik Nâib, strangled him, cut off his head and sent it to the king. (F. ii, 707, 708.)

VII.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE PRINCE'S EXPEDITION AGAINST 'ALĪ TĀLISH DIHĪ, AND
OF THAT ILL-DOER'S REWARD FOR HIS ERRORS.

In the midst of these affairs the prince's informers reported that 'Alī Tālish Dihī,²³ who was the governor of the fort of Chākan²⁴ and its dependencies, and of whose enmity to the prince some mention has already been made, had taken advantage of the prince's being occupied with his enemies, to assemble his troops, and was impudently marching to the support of Shaiḥ Mu'addī. The prince determined to march first against 'Alī Tālish and crush him before he could join Shaiḥ Mu'addī, and it so happened that the arrow of his design hit its mark, and that his well-conceived plan led to the complete defeat of both armies.

The prince sent for Masnad-i-'Alī Malik Naṣīr-ul-Mulk Gujarāṭī,²⁵ who was at that time *vakil* and *pishvā*, and took counsel with him. Masnad-i-'Alī highly approved of the prince's plan, and it was decided that Naṣīr-ul-Mulk Masnad-i-'Alī should remain where he was, with the main body of the army, and that the prince should take a picked body of men by forced marches against Zain-ud-dīn 'Alī Tālish, should fall upon him, crush his army, and put him to death before he could effect a junction with Shaiḥ Mu'addī, and should then return to the main body of his army and deal with the Shaiḥ. The Prince, having chosen the force which was to accompany him, impressed upon Masnad-i-'Alī the necessity of remaining where he was and of refraining from attacking the enemy. Masnad-i-'Alī promised obedience and declared that he would avoid any conflict with the enemy until the prince returned. The prince, with his chosen force, then set out at night, by forced marches, for the fortress of Chākan.²⁶

'Alī Tālish Dihī was still making his preparations for war and collecting his troops when the prince's force suddenly fell upon him. 'Alī Tālish Dihī came forth to meet them as best he could, and fought bravely against them, but to no avail, for he and his troops, after fighting for some time, could withstand the prince's force no longer, and 'Alī Tālish Dihī was slain and his troops were put to flight. The victorious king put a large number of fugitives to the sword and much spoil fell into the hands of the victors, and was presented, together with the head of 'Alī Tālish Dihī, to the prince. The victorious king, after slaying and plundering his enemies, turned towards Masnad-i-'Alī,²⁷ who having heard of his master's victory, was emboldened to attack Shaiḥ Mu'addī and his followers. As this action was contrary to the will of the king, the usually victorious troops were defeated and dispersed,

²³ Called by Firishṭa, Zain-ud-dīn 'Alī Tālish and mentioned on page 6 as 'Alī Bālish Dihī. Tālish is a district on the south-western coast of the Caspian.

²⁴ Situated in 18° 45' N. and 73° 32' E.

²⁵ According to Firishṭa, Ahmad had appointed Zarif-ul-Mulk the Afghan his *amīr-ul-umara* and Naṣīr-ul-Mulk Gujarāṭī his *amīr-i-jumla*. The appointment of officers with these titles was tantamount to a declaration of independence.

²⁶ Firishṭa says that Ahmad first sent Zain-ud-dīn 'Alī a message proposing a reconciliation to which Zain-ud-dīn 'Alī agreed but afterwards changed his mind on hearing of the advance of Shaiḥ Mu'addī. Ahmad, on learning that Zain-ud-dīn 'Alī was awaiting an opportunity of joining the Shaikh, left his army and marched rapidly to Chākan with a small picked force, scaled the walls by night and put Zain-ud-dīn 'Alī and the garrison, consisting of 700 foreign archers, to the sword.

²⁷ Firishṭa says that Naṣīr-ul-Mulk was successful against a part of Shaiḥ Mu'addī's force but when he encountered the main body, led by the Shaikh in person, he sustained a crushing defeat and was obliged to retreat and join Zarif-ul-Mulk.

and Naṣīr-ul-Mulk was compelled to retire on his former position, and halt there. The king then arrived with his victorious troops, and was much annoyed on hearing of Masnad-i-Ālī's untimely action and of the presumption of the enemy. He severely rebuked Naṣīr-ul-Mulk, and told him that disobedience to the commands of one's master could bear no other fruit than mishap and repentance. Masnad-i-Ālī humbly asked for pardon. The king graciously forgave him, and said that with God's help he would crush the rat-eating Arabs.

Shaiḥ Mu'addī had been rendered over-confident by his temporary success and was devoting himself to pleasure, with no thought of fighting, and the king Aḥmad purposely delayed attacking him for a few days, in order that he might grow still more careless; and then marched one night at midnight to attack him. He reached the enemy towards morning and found that they were still sleeping the sleep of negligence. He therefore fell upon him. He took them completely by surprise, and though the Arabs, when they woke, fought bravely, it was of no avail, and Shaiḥ Mu'addī and nearly all his followers were killed. The few survivors fled, and with much difficulty reached Bīdar, while all the camp, the baggage, the horses, and elephants fell into Aḥmad's hands.

The victorious king, after thus slaying and plundering his enemies, returned triumphantly to his capital, Junnār, the inhabitants of which humbly congratulated him on his success.

When the news of the death of Mu'addī and of 'Alī Ṭālish Dihī, and of the defeat of the army which had been sent against the prince, reached the ears of the king of the world (Ma'mūd Shah) and of his *amīrs*, great fear fell upon them, and they bitterly repented of their action in sending against so brave and powerful a prince, whose power they had underestimated, a small body of troops. They saw that the prince was growing more powerful and his followers more numerous every day, while their own army was enfeebled and disheartened. It was decided that the best plan would be to send against the prince a large army of experienced veterans under the command of a cautious but active officer, and that this force should be sent against him before he grew too powerful to be meddled with. Accordingly, most of the *amīrs* and officers who were at the royal court, with eighteen *amīrs* who chose to serve against the prince, were appointed to the army which was to act against the prince. Some say that the first of Sulṭān Maḥmūd's *amīrs* to take the field against the prince, was Majlis-i-Raḥī 'Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān,²⁸ and that a great battle was fought between him and the prince, but in all these wars the prince was victorious. Sultan Maḥmūd then appointed the eighteen ministers who were always in attendance on him to the army acting against the prince, and 'Alī Ṭālish Dihī came from the fort of Chākan to the assistance of the *amīrs*. The royal army encamped near Wargāon, and the prince's army was in Wargāon. Sulṭān Maḥmūd's *amīrs* then sent on several of the principal officers of the army with the advanced guard against the prince, and the prince sent Rūmī Khān and Chālāk Khān to repulse them. These officers overcame the advanced guard of the royal army, slew many, and captured three elephants, which were presented to the prince. The next day the prince marched from Wargāon and encamped at Kapar, where his spies reported to him that the royal army was drinking morning and evening, and in their pride took no account of the prince's army. The prince accordingly marched at midnight with his army to

²⁸ This is a mistake. Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān did not take the field against Aḥmad on this occasion. 'Aẓamat-ul-Mulk the minister commanded the first force sent against him from Bīdar after the defeat of Shaiḥ Mu'addī, but the account here given by Sayyid 'Alī seems to be a confused medley of the records of two or more expeditions.

attack the *amīrs*, and with 'Alī Ṭālish Dihī fell upon them before morning broke. The *amīrs* were captured and stripped to the waist and were then ridden on buffaloes through the prince's army. After that they were let go. The prince highly honoured 'Alī Ṭālish Dihī, and again conferred on him the command of the fortress of Châkan. After a while the prince asked for that fool's daughter in marriage, and 'Alī Ṭālish attempted to put him off with excuses. The prince then led an army against Châkan, captured it, put 'Alī Ṭālish Dihī and his principal officers to death but laid no hands on his daughter, who was in the fort, for 'Alī Ṭālish Dihī when the prince asked her in marriage, had uttered words which changed his inclination to dislike. The prince then levelled the fortress of Châkan to the ground. But God alone knows the truth of the matter.²¹

VIII.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE SECOND EXPEDITION OF THE PRINCE'S ENEMIES AGAINST HIM.

The *amīrs* who elected to fight against the prince (Almad), left the capital of Bidar with a large army and marched to the foot of the Meri Ghât. When spies brought the information that they had with them a very large army, the prince, although his views in all contingencies were such that they always proved in the end to be in conformity with what had been decreed by God, summoned Masnad-i-'Alī Malik Naṣir-ul-Mulk Gujarâtī and the officers of his army, and took counsel with them. Some, noted for their bravery, advised the prince to attack the enemy, while others, known for their cowardice, advised another course, but the prince followed the advice of neither. To be drawn unnecessarily into action with an enemy so much more numerous than his own was, he argued, imprudent, while to fly before them would mean disgrace. He therefore determined on a stratagem which would bring disunion between them and throw them into such confusion that they might safely be attacked. The prince then said that his design was to make a forced march on Bidar, with a picked body, to bring the *ḥaram* of Malik Nāib and his own servants forth from the city, and to carry off the wives and families of the *amīrs*, in order that he might be freed from anxiety regarding the former and might have an opportunity of falling on the latter when they were thrown into confusion by the news of the raid.

The prince therefore marched from Junnâr with his army, and, avoiding the enemy, marched on Bidar. The enemy, when they heard of his movement, thought that he was flying from them, and gave themselves up to enjoyment, untroubled by any anxiety regarding a battle. The prince, however, pressed on, and in a very few days arrived before Bidar, and, entering the city by night, before any of his enemies were aware of his movements, gained possession of the children of Malik Nāib and his own servants, put them into *pālkīs* and *singhāsans*, and sent them off to Junnâr under the escort of some trusted troops and eunuchs. He then carried off from Bidar the families of the *amīrs* who had been sent against him, with the servants and eunuchs who attended them, and sent with them another detachment of his troops, to whom he gave strict injunctions to guard the captives and their honour most carefully, and to attend to all their comforts. The prince followed them with the remainder of his troops, and when all had proceeded one stage from the city the prince had tents pitched for the wives of the *amīrs* and allayed their anxiety. The

²¹ This account, given as an alternative to what has gone before, is incorrect. Zain-ud-dīn 'Alī did not change sides as described, and he had already been slain. Almad certainly did not level the fort of Châkan with the ground, for portions of a structure anterior to the date of the capture of the fort by Almad are still standing.

next day the *kotwāls* and guards of the city of Bīdar informed the king of the prince's raid, and of his carrying off the *haram* of Malik Nāib and the wives of the *amīrs*. He accused the *amīrs*, who were at court, of negligence, and sent eighteen of the principal *amīrs* to pursue the prince and recover the wives of the other *amīrs*, nay more, to capture the prince and bring him to court.³⁰

Some of the histories of the prince relate that when the *amīrs* who had been sent against him were defeated, Sultān Maḥmūd took the field against the prince in person, and marched on Junnār, with a large army, and that when the prince heard that he had taken the field, he considered that it would not be politic to fight against the king, who was his elder brother, and his father's heir, and that he left the fortress of Shivner in the hands of one of his trusted officers, and himself marched on Bīdar by way of Daulatabad. When he reached Bīdar he collected his own *haram*, which had been left in the capital until then, Malik Nāib's *haram*, and the *harams* of those *amīrs* who were in his service, and returned by another way.

When the king reached the neighbourhood of Junnār and learnt of the prince's flight he set his heart on capturing the fortress of Shivner, and laid siege to it. The *kotwāl* of the fort prepared to defend it, and removed from his mind any thought that he was bound by ties of duty to the king. The king sent a message to the *kotwāl* to say that all forts and districts were in his hands and that the young prince himself was no more than one of his servants. He said that the *kotwāl* was committing an error in refusing to submit to him. The *kotwāl* replied that the prince had entrusted the fort to him, and that if he were false to the prince and surrendered the fort to the king, the latter could thenceforth have no confidence in him.

In the meantime the news of the prince's raid on Bīdar reached the king's army, and the king was perturbed by the thought that the prince might have seized the capital and placed him in great straits. He set out for Bīdar by the road by which the prince was returning, but the prince, turning aside, avoided him. The king then issued a *farmān* summoning the prince to court, and attempted to satisfy him by means of a safe conduct, but the prince sought refuge in plausible excuses and avoided attendance on the king. After this the king molested the prince no more till the day of his death.

It is clear that this story is more probable than the other, for it is more credible that it was in the king's absence, rather than when he was in the capital, that the prince ventured to go to Bīdar and carry off the *haram*.³¹

³⁰ Sayyid 'Alī's principle apparently is to collect all the conflicting accounts he can find of a campaign and to offer them to his readers either as different accounts of the same campaign, among which they are at liberty to take their choice, or as accounts of different campaigns. What really happened after the defeat of Shaikh Mu'addī's force was as follows. Maḥmūd Shāh, or rather his *mair du palais*, was much annoyed by the news and sent against the rebel a large force under the minister Aẓamat-ul-Mulk, with eighteen other *amīrs*. Ahmad was too weak to meet this force in the field and, eluding it, made a forced march on Bīdar. Having corrupted the guard at one of the gates he entered the city and carried off his own household and the wives and families of the *amīrs* in the manner described by Sayyid 'Alī. The *amīrs* dared not attack him now, but sent him a message reproaching him with having warred against women, whereupon he sent their wives and families back to them, and retired to Parenda.

Maḥmūd Shāh bitterly reproached the *amīrs* with having permitted the rebel to raid the capital and they, in reply, laid all the blame on 'Aẓamat-ul-Mulk's incompetence. 'Aẓamat-ul-Mulk was recalled to the capital and Jahāngīr Khān from Telingāna was appointed to the command of the army and sent to join it at Bīr.

³¹ In spite of Sayyid 'Alī's estimate of its probability, this story is incorrect, and Maḥmūd Shāh was in the capital when Ahmad made his daring raid.

IX —AN ACCOUNT OF THE THIRD EXPEDITION OF THE PRINCE'S ENEMIES AGAINST HIM, AND OF THEIR CAPTURE BY RŪMĪ KHĀN.

The *amīrs*, already mentioned, left the city with a large army to take vengeance on the prince, and pursued him, but when the *amīrs* who had first been sent against him, heard that he had visited Bidar, and carried off their wives and families, fear and trembling fell upon them and they were divided and scattered, so that the prince's object was gained. On the receipt of this news, a numerous and well-appointed army was dispersed, and its officer repaired to court complaining bitterly, and in the strongest language of the negligence of the *amīrs* who had been at court when the raid was made. When the prince's spies informed him of the approach of these *amīrs*, and the news of the dispersal of the army, which had been encamped at the Meri Ghāt, became known in his army, he left the wives and families of the *amīrs* where they were and marched on his capital by way of Parenda. The king's troops, who had followed him from Bidar, emboldened by his marching away from them, followed in his tracks.³²

When the prince halted at Parenda,³³ he sent for Jalāl RŪmī Khān and told him that his forces were much weakened, for a detachment had gone with the *haram*, and many, exhausted by his forced march on Bidar, had fallen out by the way. He then ordered RŪmī Khān to hold Parenda and await the arrival of the stragglers, while he marched on one stage, in order that the royal army might believe that he was fleeing from them, and might pursue him, and not on any account to emerge from Parenda until the pursuers had passed it, in order that he (the prince) might then make a stand while RŪmī Khān issued from the fortress in the enemy's rear and thus surrounded him. Jalāl RŪmī Khān promise to obey these orders and remained in the fort while the prince marched on one stage, and when the *amīrs* heard that the prince had passed Parenda, they were puffed up with pride, and pressed on with all haste in pursuit of the prince, until they came to the stream which is known as Alāt Nadi,³⁴ and flows past the town of Parenda. Here they halted and circulated the wine-cup and had music, paying no more attention to Jalāl RŪmī Khān who was in Parenda, than if he had not existed. So careless were they that they took no heed of anything until they fell into a drunken sleep.

When RŪmī Khān heard of the state of the enemy's army, he wisely thought that he could best serve the prince by disobeying his orders, seeing that the enemy's negligence promised him a certain victory and the opportunity was one not to be neglected. He therefore assembled his army and with a strong force, fell upon them when many of them were in a drunken sleep and many more had barely slept off their debauch. Some were sent to eternity from a drunken sleep and some opened their eyes only to be sent by the same road. Not a single man of the enemy had any time to prepare for the fight and large numbers were sent to hell by RŪmī Khān's troops. The *amīrs* and the principal officers of their army who had stirred up strife against the prince, were caught in the clutches of fate and it was the good fortune of the prince that such a victory was gained by

³² This appears to be an account of the operations of the royal troops after Jahāngīr Khān had taken command.

³³ Situated in 18° 16' N. and 75° 27' E. The fort of Parenda was built by the great minister Mahmūd Gāvn.

³⁴ Parenda stands between two small tributaries of the Sina, which is a tributary of the Bhīma.

Jalâl Rûmî Khân as will be the preface of all the noble gests and deeds of kings till the end of time.

Rûmî Khân, when the slaying was finished, took large quantities of plunder, and took those eighteen persons who had been the chief *amîrs* of the king's army, mounted on buffaloes, to the prince's camp.³⁵

When the news of the victory reached the prince, he first rendered thanks to God, and then, with the sound of trumpets and drum, gave the signal for rejoicing throughout his army. At this moment Rûmî Khân arrived at the prince's camp with the captive *amîrs*. Rûmî Khân made his obeisance to the prince and was loaded with favours and encouraged to expect great advancement. He received a royal robe of honour, and the king's *amîrs* also participated in the favours bestowed on him, for they received robes of honour and were given leave to depart for Bîdar. By such laudable actions the prince captivated the hearts of these men, nay most of the *amîrs* of the king's army, and made all those who had been his enemies subservient to him, so that in a short time the greater number of the army which had opposed him, both Dakanis and Foreigners, submitted themselves to him and were enrolled among his servants.

The prince, after this famous victory, which was the dayspring of his fortune and the origin of royal reign and kingly power, returned in triumph to his capital and showered favours upon, and executed justice among, the people of Junnâr and the districts, until nobody was seen in his dominions with a torn collar, if we except the dawn with its collar torn by the torch, and no blood was seen on any, if we except the gloaming tinged by the ruddy light of the lamp.

X.—AN ACCOUNT OF AHMAD SHÂH'S ENTHRONEMENT ON THE THRONE OF SOVEREIGNTY, i.e. HIS DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

It has already been mentioned that in the reign of Sultân Maḥmûd Shâh Bahmanî the king's authority was much shaken, and most of the *amîrs*, *malîks*, and officers, turning aside from the path of obedience and submission took the road to the desert of contumacy and rebellion. Among these was Majlis-i-Rafi' Malik Yûsuf 'Adil Khân, who by the king's authority held the country of Bijâpûr and all its dependencies in *jâgîr*. He raised the standard of opposition and made the claim "I and there is none beside me." In the same

³⁵ This account differs widely from Firishta's, who gives to Ahmad himself the credit of the victory. As Jahângîr Khân's force advanced, Ahmad fled from Paranda to Paithan, whence he unsuccessfully sought aid from Faṭḥullâh 'Imâd-ul-Mulk of Berar. As Jahângîr Khân approached Paithan, Ahmad retired and occupied the hilly country of Jeûr, where he was joined by Naṣîr-ul-Mulk Gujarâtî from Qâdirâbâd. Jahângîr Khân marched to Nikâpûr and cut off Ahmad's retreat to Junnâr. The two armies lay within six leagues of each other for nearly a month and as the rainy season had begun Ahmad's troops suffered severely. But the *amîrs* of the royal army, believing that Ahmad could not escape, neglected all military precautions and gave themselves up to feasting and drinking. Ahmad marched by night to Nikâpûr, arrived there early on the morning of June 19, 1490, and fell on the royal army while most of them were still in a drunken sleep. Nearly the whole of the army was slain, including the *amîrs* Jahângîr Khân, Sayyid Ishâq, Sayyid Luṭfullâh, Nizâm Khân, and Faṭḥullâh Khân. The other *amîrs* were captured and Ahmad, after stripping them down to the knees and parading them round his camp on buffaloes, sent them back to Bîdar. The battle was known as "the battle of the garden," from a garden which Ahmad laid out on its site. This battle established Ahmad's independence.

way Majlis-i-A'la Malik Sultân Qulî Qutb-ul-Mulk,³⁶ who, by the king's command, held the whole of the province of Telingana, raised the banner of independence and pride, and regarded none beside himself; Malik Fathullah, 'Imâd-ul-Mulk in the country of Berar, raised the standard of usurpation and pride sky-high, and gave currency to the habit of rebellion. In the same way all the rest of the *amîrs* and *maliks*, who were in their own provinces, went astray, and Majlis-i-Mukarram Malik Qâsim, Barîd-i-Mamâlik, who held the districts of Qandahâr³⁷ and Aus³⁸ and their dependencies, raised the banner of authority and independence in the capital, Bîdar, and took into his own hands the whole administration of the country, leaving to Sultân Maḥmûd nothing but the name of a king. In the meanwhile the *amîrs* were constantly leading their armies from all parts to Bîdar, in the attempt to overthrow Malik Qâsim, Barîd-i-Mamâlik. In some of these expeditions matters were compounded without bloodshed or fighting, but sometimes the quarrels of these erring men could not be settled without an appeal to the sword. In several of these expeditions Ashraf-i-Humâyûn Sultân Aḥmad Shâh Bahrî was present in person, allaying strife, and punishing the quarrelsome and contumacious with the sword, as has already been described, until at last, on the date³⁹ which has already been given, the king of the countries of Dakan, Sultân Maḥmûd Bahmanî, bade farewell to this transitory world and took his departure for the eternal abode.

Since Malik Nâib suffered martyrdom at the instigation of the contumacious but still frustrated men, and the stirrers up of strife poisoned the mind of the king of the world, Maḥmûd Shâh Bahmanî, against His Highness Ashraf-i-Humâyûn, Sultân Aḥmad Shâh Bahrî, so that armies were several times sent against his highness with a view to crushing him, as has been related, the *amîrs* and officers of the kingdom, who were in the service of His Highness Ashraf-i-Humâyûn, Sultân Aḥmad Bahrî, represented that the disloyal *amîrs* of the king had obtained the supreme power, and that very little authority was left in the hands of the king, while the whole of the attention of these disloyal *amîrs* was devoted to attempts to crush the prince; and therefore the salvation of the prince's rule and of his dominions lay in his proclaiming himself independent and in his ascending the throne of sovereignty and donning the crown of royalty, in order that the administration might be efficiently continued and that the dominion might not depart from the great family (of Bahman).

³⁶ This is not correct. Sultân Qulî Qutb-ul-Mulk was of all the great provincial governors the most faithful to the house of Bahman, and though he often refused to recognize the orders issued by Qâsim Barîd, he would not formally declare his independence until Maḥmûd Shâh died in 1518 and his young son Aḥmad III was placed on the throne in Bîdar by Qâsim. Aḥmad Nizâm-ul-Mulk was the first to propose to the other provincial governors that they should declare their independence of Bîdar, and all, except Qutb-ul-Mulk, agreed.

³⁷ The name of this place is always thus spelt by Muhammadan historians. The correct spelling is Kandhâr. It is on the Manâda river, about 65 miles north of Bîdar.

³⁸ Situated in 18° 15' N. and 77° 30' E.

³⁹ The date already given is Zi-l-Hijjâh 24, A.H. 924 (December 27, A.D. 1518). See *The History of the Bahmani Dynasty* by Major J. S. King, p. 147. Firishta (i, 726) gives the date as Zi-l-Hijjâh 4, 924 (Dec. 17, 1518). Sayyid 'Alî conveniently ignores the existence of the nominal successors of Maḥmûd, Aḥmad III, 'Alâ-ud-dîn, Wali-ullâh, and Kalim-ullâh, and makes it appear that Aḥmad ascended the throne as a Bahmanî king though he carefully avoids describing him as Bahmanî and always gives him the distinctive cognomen of his dynasty, Bahrî.

VII.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE PRINCE'S EXPEDITION AGAINST 'ALĪ TĀLISH DIHĪ, AND
OF THAT ILL-DOER'S REWARD FOR HIS ERRORS.

In the midst of these affairs the prince's informers reported that 'Alī Tālish Dihī,²³ who was the governor of the fort of Chākan²⁴ and its dependencies, and of whose enmity to the prince some mention has already been made, had taken advantage of the prince's being occupied with his enemies, to assemble his troops, and was impudently marching to the support of Shaiḥ Mu'addī. The prince determined to march first against 'Alī Tālish and crush him before he could join Shaiḥ Mu'addī, and it so happened that the arrow of his design hit its mark, and that his well-conceived plan led to the complete defeat of both armies.

The prince sent for Masnad-i-'Alī Malik Naṣīr-ul-Mulk Gujarātī,²⁵ who was at that time *vakil* and *pishvā*, and took counsel with him. Masnad-i-'Alī highly approved of the prince's plan, and it was decided that Naṣīr-ul-Mulk Masnad-i-'Alī should remain where he was, with the main body of the army, and that the prince should take a picked body of men by forced marches against Zain-ud-dīn 'Alī Tālish, should fall upon him, crush his army, and put him to death before he could effect a junction with Shaiḥ Mu'addī, and should then return to the main body of his army and deal with the Shaiḥ. The Prince, having chosen the force which was to accompany him, impressed upon Masnad-i-'Alī the necessity of remaining where he was and of refraining from attacking the enemy. Masnad-i-'Alī promised obedience and declared that he would avoid any conflict with the enemy until the prince returned. The prince, with his chosen force, then set out at night, by forced marches, for the fortress of Chākan.²⁶

'Alī Tālish Dihī was still making his preparations for war and collecting his troops when the prince's force suddenly fell upon him. 'Alī Tālish Dihī came forth to meet them as best he could, and fought bravely against them, but to no avail, for he and his troops, after fighting for some time, could withstand the prince's force no longer, and 'Alī Tālish Dihī was slain and his troops were put to flight. The victorious king put a large number of fugitives to the sword and much spoil fell into the hands of the victors, and was presented, together with the head of 'Alī Tālish Dihī, to the prince. The victorious king, after slaying and plundering his enemies, turned towards Masnad-i-'Alī,²⁷ who having heard of his master's victory, was emboldened to attack Shaiḥ Mu'addī and his followers. As this action was contrary to the will of the king, the usually victorious troops were defeated and dispersed,

²³ Called by Firishṭa, Zain-ud-dīn 'Alī Tālish and mentioned on page 6 as 'Alī Bālish Dihī. Tālish is a district on the south-western coast of the Caspian.

²⁴ Situated in 18° 45' N. and 73° 32' E.

²⁵ According to Firishṭa, Ahmad had appointed Zarif-ul-Mulk the Afghan his *amīr-ul-umara* and Naṣīr-ul-Mulk Gujarātī his *amīr-i-jumla*. The appointment of officers with these titles was tantamount to a declaration of independence.

²⁶ Firishṭa says that Ahmad first sent Zain-ud-dīn 'Alī a message proposing a reconciliation to which Zain-ud-dīn 'Alī agreed but afterwards changed his mind on hearing of the advance of Shaiḥ Mu'addī. Ahmad, on learning that Zain-ud-dīn 'Alī was awaiting an opportunity of joining the Shaikh, left his army and marched rapidly to Chākan with a small picked force, scaled the walls by night and put Zain-ud-dīn 'Alī and the garrison, consisting of 700 foreign archers, to the sword.

²⁷ Firishṭa says that Naṣīr-ul-Mulk was successful against a part of Shaiḥ Mu'addī's force but when he encountered the main body, led by the Shaikh in person, he sustained a crushing defeat and was obliged to retreat and join Zarif-ul-Mulk.

and Naṣīr-ul-Mulk was compelled to retire on his former position, and halt there. The king then arrived with his victorious troops, and was much annoyed on hearing of Masnad-i-Ālī's untimely action and of the presumption of the enemy. He severely rebuked Naṣīr-ul-Mulk, and told him that disobedience to the commands of one's master could bear no other fruit than mishap and repentance. Masnad-i-Ālī humbly asked for pardon. The king graciously forgave him, and said that with God's help he would crush the rat-eating Arabs.

Shaiḥ Mu'addī had been rendered over-confident by his temporary success and was devoting himself to pleasure, with no thought of fighting, and the king Aḥmad purposely delayed attacking him for a few days, in order that he might grow still more careless; and then marched one night at midnight to attack him. He reached the enemy towards morning and found that they were still sleeping the sleep of negligence. He therefore fell upon him. He took them completely by surprise, and though the Arabs, when they woke, fought bravely, it was of no avail, and Shaiḥ Mu'addī and nearly all his followers were killed. The few survivors fled, and with much difficulty reached Bīdar, while all the camp, the baggage, the horses, and elephants fell into Aḥmad's hands.

The victorious king, after thus slaying and plundering his enemies, returned triumphantly to his capital, Junnār, the inhabitants of which humbly congratulated him on his success.

When the news of the death of Mu'addī and of 'Alī Ṭālish Dihī, and of the defeat of the army which had been sent against the prince, reached the ears of the king of the world (Ma'mūd Shah) and of his *amīrs*, great fear fell upon them, and they bitterly repented of their action in sending against so brave and powerful a prince, whose power they had underestimated, a small body of troops. They saw that the prince was growing more powerful and his followers more numerous every day, while their own army was enfeebled and disheartened. It was decided that the best plan would be to send against the prince a large army of experienced veterans under the command of a cautious but active officer, and that this force should be sent against him before he grew too powerful to be meddled with. Accordingly, most of the *amīrs* and officers who were at the royal court, with eighteen *amīrs* who chose to serve against the prince, were appointed to the army which was to act against the prince. Some say that the first of Sulṭān Maḥmūd's *amīrs* to take the field against the prince, was Majlis-i-Raḥī 'Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān,²⁸ and that a great battle was fought between him and the prince, but in all these wars the prince was victorious. Sultan Maḥmūd then appointed the eighteen ministers who were always in attendance on him to the army acting against the prince, and 'Alī Ṭālish Dihī came from the fort of Chākan to the assistance of the *amīrs*. The royal army encamped near Wargāon, and the prince's army was in Wargāon. Sulṭān Maḥmūd's *amīrs* then sent on several of the principal officers of the army with the advanced guard against the prince, and the prince sent Rūmī Khān and Chālāk Khān to repulse them. These officers overcame the advanced guard of the royal army, slew many, and captured three elephants, which were presented to the prince. The next day the prince marched from Wargāon and encamped at Kapar, where his spies reported to him that the royal army was drinking morning and evening, and in their pride took no account of the prince's army. The prince accordingly marched at midnight with his army to

²⁸ This is a mistake. Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān did not take the field against Aḥmad on this occasion. 'Azamat-ul-Mulk the minister commanded the first force sent against him from Bīdar after the defeat of Shaiḥ Mu'addī, but the account here given by Sayyid 'Alī seems to be a confused medley of the records of two or more expeditions.

attack the *amīrs*, and with 'Alī Ṭālish Dihī fell upon them before morning broke. The *amīrs* were captured and stripped to the waist and were then ridden on buffaloes through the prince's army. After that they were let go. The prince highly honoured 'Alī Ṭālish Dihī, and again conferred on him the command of the fortress of Chākan. After a while the prince asked for that fool's daughter in marriage, and 'Alī Ṭālish attempted to put him off with excuses. The prince then led an army against Chākan, captured it, put 'Alī Ṭālish Dihī and his principal officers to death but laid no hands on his daughter, who was in the fort, for 'Alī Ṭālish Dihī when the prince asked her in marriage, had uttered words which changed his inclination to dislike. The prince then levelled the fortress of Chākan to the ground. But God alone knows the truth of the matter.²¹

VIII.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE SECOND EXPEDITION OF THE PRINCE'S ENEMIES AGAINST HIM.

The *amīrs* who elected to fight against the prince (Almad), left the capital of Bīdar with a large army and marched to the foot of the Meri Ghāṭ. When spies brought the information that they had with them a very large army, the prince, although his views in all contingencies were such that they always proved in the end to be in conformity with what had been decreed by God, summoned Masnad-i-'Alī Malik Naṣīr-ul-Mulk Gujarātī and the officers of his army, and took counsel with them. Some, noted for their bravery, advised the prince to attack the enemy, while others, known for their cowardice, advised another course, but the prince followed the advice of neither. To be drawn unnecessarily into action with an enemy so much more numerous than his own was, he argued, imprudent, while to fly before them would mean disgrace. He therefore determined on a stratagem which would bring disunion between them and throw them into such confusion that they might safely be attacked. The prince then said that his design was to make a forced march on Bīdar, with a picked body, to bring the *laram* of Malik Nāib and his own servants forth from the city, and to carry off the wives and families of the *amīrs*, in order that he might be freed from anxiety regarding the former and might have an opportunity of falling on the latter when they were thrown into confusion by the news of the raid.

The prince therefore marched from Junnār with his army, and, avoiding the enemy, marched on Bīdar. The enemy, when they heard of his movement, thought that he was flying from them, and gave themselves up to enjoyment, untroubled by any anxiety regarding a battle. The prince, however, pressed on, and in a very few days arrived before Bīdar, and, entering the city by night, before any of his enemies were aware of his movements, gained possession of the children of Malik Nāib and his own servants, put them into *pālīs* and *singhāsans*, and sent them off to Junnār under the escort of some trusted troops and eunuchs. He then carried off from Bīdar the families of the *amīrs* who had been sent against him, with the servants and eunuchs who attended them, and sent with them another detachment of his troops, to whom he gave strict injunctions to guard the captives and their honour most carefully, and to attend to all their comforts. The prince followed them with the remainder of his troops, and when all had proceeded one stage from the city the prince had tents pitched for the wives of the *amīrs* and allayed their anxiety. The

²¹ This account, given as an alternative to what has gone before, is incorrect. Zain-ud-dīn 'Alī did not change sides as described, and he had already been slain. Almad certainly did not level the fort of Chākan with the ground, for portions of a structure anterior to the date of the capture of the fort by Almad are still standing.

next day the *kotwāls* and guards of the city of Bīdar informed the king of the prince's raid, and of his carrying off the *haram* of Malik Nāib and the wives of the *amīrs*. He accused the *amīrs*, who were at court, of negligence, and sent eighteen of the principal *amīrs* to pursue the prince and recover the wives of the other *amīrs*, nay more, to capture the prince and bring him to court.³⁰

Some of the histories of the prince relate that when the *amīrs* who had been sent against him were defeated, Sultān Maḥmūd took the field against the prince in person, and marched on Junnār, with a large army, and that when the prince heard that he had taken the field, he considered that it would not be politic to fight against the king, who was his elder brother, and his father's heir, and that he left the fortress of Shivner in the hands of one of his trusted officers, and himself marched on Bīdar by way of Daulatabad. When he reached Bīdar he collected his own *haram*, which had been left in the capital until then, Malik Nāib's *haram*, and the *harams* of those *amīrs* who were in his service, and returned by another way.

When the king reached the neighbourhood of Junnār and learnt of the prince's flight he set his heart on capturing the fortress of Shivner, and laid siege to it. The *kotwāl* of the fort prepared to defend it, and removed from his mind any thought that he was bound by ties of duty to the king. The king sent a message to the *kotwāl* to say that all forts and districts were in his hands and that the young prince himself was no more than one of his servants. He said that the *kotwāl* was committing an error in refusing to submit to him. The *kotwāl* replied that the prince had entrusted the fort to him, and that if he were false to the prince and surrendered the fort to the king, the latter could thenceforth have no confidence in him.

In the meantime the news of the prince's raid on Bīdar reached the king's army, and the king was perturbed by the thought that the prince might have seized the capital and placed him in great straits. He set out for Bīdar by the road by which the prince was returning, but the prince, turning aside, avoided him. The king then issued a *farmān* summoning the prince to court, and attempted to satisfy him by means of a safe conduct, but the prince sought refuge in plausible excuses and avoided attendance on the king. After this the king molested the prince no more till the day of his death.

It is clear that this story is more probable than the other, for it is more credible that it was in the king's absence, rather than when he was in the capital, that the prince ventured to go to Bīdar and carry off the *haram*.³¹

³⁰ Sayyid 'Alī's principle apparently is to collect all the conflicting accounts he can find of a campaign and to offer them to his readers either as different accounts of the same campaign, among which they are at liberty to take their choice, or as accounts of different campaigns. What really happened after the defeat of Shaikh Mu'addī's force was as follows. Maḥmūd Shāh, or rather his *mair du palais*, was much annoyed by the news and sent against the rebel a large force under the minister Aẓamat-ul-Mulk, with eighteen other *amīrs*. Ahmad was too weak to meet this force in the field and, eluding it, made a forced march on Bīdar. Having corrupted the guard at one of the gates he entered the city and carried off his own household and the wives and families of the *amīrs* in the manner described by Sayyid 'Alī. The *amīrs* dared not attack him now, but sent him a message reproaching him with having warred against women, whereupon he sent their wives and families back to them, and retired to Parenda.

Maḥmūd Shāh bitterly reproached the *amīrs* with having permitted the rebel to raid the capital and they, in reply, laid all the blame on 'Aẓamat-ul-Mulk's incompetence. 'Aẓamat-ul-Mulk was recalled to the capital and Jahāngir Khān from Telingāna was appointed to the command of the army and sent to join it at Bīr.

³¹ In spite of Sayyid 'Alī's estimate of its probability, this story is incorrect, and Maḥmūd Shāh was in the capital when Ahmad made his daring raid.

IX —AN ACCOUNT OF THE THIRD EXPEDITION OF THE PRINCE'S ENEMIES AGAINST HIM, AND OF THEIR CAPTURE BY RŪMĪ KHĀN.

The *amīrs*, already mentioned, left the city with a large army to take vengeance on the prince, and pursued him, but when the *amīrs* who had first been sent against him, heard that he had visited Bidar, and carried off their wives and families, fear and trembling fell upon them and they were divided and scattered, so that the prince's object was gained. On the receipt of this news, a numerous and well-appointed army was dispersed, and its officer repaired to court complaining bitterly, and in the strongest language of the negligence of the *amīrs* who had been at court when the raid was made. When the prince's spies informed him of the approach of these *amīrs*, and the news of the dispersal of the army, which had been encamped at the Meri Ghāt, became known in his army, he left the wives and families of the *amīrs* where they were and marched on his capital by way of Parenda. The king's troops, who had followed him from Bidar, emboldened by his marching away from them, followed in his tracks.³²

When the prince halted at Parenda,³³ he sent for Jalāl RŪmī Khān and told him that his forces were much weakened, for a detachment had gone with the *haram*, and many, exhausted by his forced march on Bidar, had fallen out by the way. He then ordered RŪmī Khān to hold Parenda and await the arrival of the stragglers, while he marched on one stage, in order that the royal army might believe that he was fleeing from them, and might pursue him, and not on any account to emerge from Parenda until the pursuers had passed it, in order that he (the prince) might then make a stand while RŪmī Khān issued from the fortress in the enemy's rear and thus surrounded him. Jalāl RŪmī Khān promise to obey these orders and remained in the fort while the prince marched on one stage, and when the *amīrs* heard that the prince had passed Parenda, they were puffed up with pride, and pressed on with all haste in pursuit of the prince, until they came to the stream which is known as Alāt Nadi,³⁴ and flows past the town of Parenda. Here they halted and circulated the wine-cup and had music, paying no more attention to Jalāl RŪmī Khān who was in Parenda, than if he had not existed. So careless were they that they took no heed of anything until they fell into a drunken sleep.

When RŪmī Khān heard of the state of the enemy's army, he wisely thought that he could best serve the prince by disobeying his orders, seeing that the enemy's negligence promised him a certain victory and the opportunity was one not to be neglected. He therefore assembled his army and with a strong force, fell upon them when many of them were in a drunken sleep and many more had barely slept off their debauch. Some were sent to eternity from a drunken sleep and some opened their eyes only to be sent by the same road. Not a single man of the enemy had any time to prepare for the fight and large numbers were sent to hell by RŪmī Khān's troops. The *amīrs* and the principal officers of their army who had stirred up strife against the prince, were caught in the clutches of fate and it was the good fortune of the prince that such a victory was gained by

³² This appears to be an account of the operations of the royal troops after Jahāngīr Khān had taken command.

³³ Situated in 18° 16' N. and 75° 27' E. The fort of Parenda was built by the great minister Mahmūd Gāvn.

³⁴ Parenda stands between two small tributaries of the Sina, which is a tributary of the Bhīma.

Jalâl Rûmî Khân as will be the preface of all the noble gestic and deeds of kings till the end of time.

Rûmî Khân, when the slaying was finished, took large quantities of plunder, and took those eighteen persons who had been the chief *amîrs* of the king's army, mounted on buffaloes, to the prince's camp.³⁵

When the news of the victory reached the prince, he first rendered thanks to God, and then, with the sound of trumpets and drum, gave the signal for rejoicing throughout his army. At this moment Rûmî Khân arrived at the prince's camp with the captive *amîrs*. Rûmî Khân made his obeisance to the prince and was loaded with favours and encouraged to expect great advancement. He received a royal robe of honour, and the king's *amîrs* also participated in the favours bestowed on him, for they received robes of honour and were given leave to depart for Bîdar. By such laudable actions the prince captivated the hearts of these men, nay most of the *amîrs* of the king's army, and made all those who had been his enemies subservient to him, so that in a short time the greater number of the army which had opposed him, both Dakanis and Foreigners, submitted themselves to him and were enrolled among his servants.

The prince, after this famous victory, which was the dayspring of his fortune and the origin of royal reign and kingly power, returned in triumph to his capital and showered favours upon, and executed justice among, the people of Junnâr and the districts, until nobody was seen in his dominions with a torn collar, if we except the dawn with its collar torn by the torch, and no blood was seen on any, if we except the gloaming tinged by the ruddy light of the lamp.

X.—AN ACCOUNT OF AHMAD SHÂH'S ENTHRONEMENT ON THE THRONE OF SOVEREIGNTY, i.e. HIS DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

It has already been mentioned that in the reign of Sultân Maḥmûd Shâh Bahmanî the king's authority was much shaken, and most of the *amîrs*, *maliks*, and officers, turning aside from the path of obedience and submission took the road to the desert of contumacy and rebellion. Among these was Majlis-i-Rafi' Malik Yûsuf 'Adil Khân, who by the king's authority held the country of Bijâpûr and all its dependencies in *jâgîr*. He raised the standard of opposition and made the claim "I and there is none beside me." In the same

³⁵ This account differs widely from Firishta's, who gives to Ahmad himself the credit of the victory. As Jahângîr Khân's force advanced, Ahmad fled from Paranda to Paithan, whence he unsuccessfully sought aid from Faṭḥullâh 'Imâd-ul-Mulk of Berar. As Jahângîr Khân approached Paithan, Ahmad retired and occupied the hilly country of Jeûr, where he was joined by Naṣîr-ul-Mulk Gujarâti from Qâdirâbâd. Jahângîr Khân marched to Nikâpûr and cut off Ahmad's retreat to Junnâr. The two armies lay within six leagues of each other for nearly a month and as the rainy season had begun Ahmad's troops suffered severely. But the *amîrs* of the royal army, believing that Ahmad could not escape, neglected all military precautions and gave themselves up to feasting and drinking. Ahmad marched by night to Nikâpûr, arrived there early on the morning of June 19, 1490, and fell on the royal army while most of them were still in a drunken sleep. Nearly the whole of the army was slain, including the *amîrs* Jahângîr Khân, Sayyid Ishâq, Sayyid Luṭfullâh, Nizâm Khân, and Faṭḥullâh Khân. The other *amîrs* were captured and Ahmad, after stripping them down to the knees and parading them round his camp on buffaloes, sent them back to Bîdar. The battle was known as "the battle of the garden," from a garden which Ahmad laid out on its site. This battle established Ahmad's independence.

way Majlis-i-A'la Malik Sultân Qulî Qutb-ul-Mulk,³⁶ who, by the king's command, held the whole of the province of Telingana, raised the banner of independence and pride, and regarded none beside himself; Malik Fathullah, 'Imâd-ul-Mulk in the country of Berar, raised the standard of usurpation and pride sky-high, and gave currency to the habit of rebellion. In the same way all the rest of the *amîrs* and *maliks*, who were in their own provinces, went astray, and Majlis-i-Mukarram Malik Qâsim, Barîd-i-Mamâlik, who held the districts of Qandahâr³⁷ and Aus³⁸ and their dependencies, raised the banner of authority and independence in the capital, Bidar, and took into his own hands the whole administration of the country, leaving to Sultân Maḥmûd nothing but the name of a king. In the meanwhile the *amîrs* were constantly leading their armies from all parts to Bidar, in the attempt to overthrow Malik Qâsim, Barîd-i-Mamâlik. In some of these expeditions matters were compounded without bloodshed or fighting, but sometimes the quarrels of these erring men could not be settled without an appeal to the sword. In several of these expeditions Ashraf-i-Humâyûn Sultân Aḥmad Shâh Bahrî was present in person, allaying strife, and punishing the quarrelsome and contumacious with the sword, as has already been described, until at last, on the date³⁹ which has already been given, the king of the countries of Dakan, Sultân Maḥmûd Bahmanî, bade farewell to this transitory world and took his departure for the eternal abode.

Since Malik Nâib suffered martyrdom at the instigation of the contumacious but still frustrated men, and the stirrers up of strife poisoned the mind of the king of the world, Maḥmûd Shâh Bahmanî, against His Highness Ashraf-i-Humâyûn, Sultân Aḥmad Shâh Bahrî, so that armies were several times sent against his highness with a view to crushing him, as has been related, the *amîrs* and officers of the kingdom, who were in the service of His Highness Ashraf-i-Humâyûn, Sultân Aḥmad Bahrî, represented that the disloyal *amîrs* of the king had obtained the supreme power, and that very little authority was left in the hands of the king, while the whole of the attention of these disloyal *amîrs* was devoted to attempts to crush the prince; and therefore the salvation of the prince's rule and of his dominions lay in his proclaiming himself independent and in his ascending the throne of sovereignty and donning the crown of royalty, in order that the administration might be efficiently continued and that the dominion might not depart from the great family (of Bahman).

³⁶ This is not correct. Sultân Qulî Qutb-ul-Mulk was of all the great provincial governors the most faithful to the house of Bahman, and though he often refused to recognize the orders issued by Qâsim Barîd, he would not formally declare his independence until Maḥmûd Shâh died in 1518 and his young son Aḥmad III was placed on the throne in Bidar by Qâsim. Aḥmad Nizâm-ul-Mulk was the first to propose to the other provincial governors that they should declare their independence of Bidar, and all, except Qutb-ul-Mulk, agreed.

³⁷ The name of this place is always thus spelt by Muhammadan historians. The correct spelling is Kandhâr. It is on the Manâda river, about 65 miles north of Bidar.

³⁸ Situated in 18° 15' N. and 77° 30' E.

³⁹ The date already given is Zi-l-Hijjâh 24, A.H. 924 (December 27, A.D. 1518). See *The History of the Bahmani Dynasty* by Major J. S. King, p. 147. Firishta (i, 726) gives the date as Zi-l-Hijjâh 4, 924 (Dec. 17, 1518). Sayyid 'Alî conveniently ignores the existence of the nominal successors of Maḥmûd, Aḥmad III, 'Alâ-ud-dîn, Wali-ullâh, and Kalim-ullâh, and makes it appear that Aḥmad ascended the throne as a Bahmani king though he carefully avoids describing him as Bahmani and always gives him the distinctive cognomen of his dynasty, Bahrî.

Therefore his highness, the Sulaimān of the age, Ashraf-i-Humâyûn, Sultân Ahmad Shâh Bahrî, who was, in the opinion of his loyal officers, the means of continuing the royal line and the candle of the family of the *Khilâfat*, at a time when the aspect of the sun foretold the continuance of the kingdom and of its glory in his family, that is, A.H. 891 (A.D. 1486)⁴⁰ took his seat on the royal throne, and imparted glory to the crown of kingship by placing it upon his head.

When his majesty ascended the throne he was twenty years of age.⁴¹

The *amîrs* swore fealty to the king and tendered their congratulations to him. They scattered gold abroad and received honours and royal favours in measure corresponding to their degrees. After that the king paid attention to the wants of his army and his subjects, and abolished all tyranny and oppression and raised the standard of justice and equity. He made even greater efforts than before to increase his army, in order that he might conquer the hereditary dominions of his father and grandfather, which God destined to be his.

XI.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE WAR BETWEEN 'ADIL KHÂN AND THE KING OF THE WORLD, ASHRAF-I-HUMÂYÛN, AHMAD BAHRÎ.

When Sultân Ahmad Shâh Bahrî ascended the throne of sovereignty, and the fame of his kingdom and justice was through all the world, Majlis-i-Rafî', Yûsuf 'Âdil Khân, who was distinguished from all other *amîrs* of the Dakan by the greatness of his power and the extent of his *jâgîrs* and his province, and was intoxicated by the numbers of his army and by pride of place, opened the door of strife in his own face. In short, the desire of power and conquest entered 'Âdil Khân's head and he thought that royal robes and the honours of the *Khilâfat* were for every seeker after them, whether he had been externally predestinated to them or not, not knowing that the royal umbrella is a *humâ*,⁴² which spreads not the wing of good fortune over any but the elect, and that lordship over men is an '*anqâ*,⁴³ which settles not but on the Qâf of the worth of those who have been accepted, and that a kingdom is not administered and maintained solely by means of the abundance of treasure and the number of one's adherents and assistants.

Malik Yûsuf 'Âdil Khân considered that Ashraf-i-Humâyûn Sultân Ahmad Shâh Bahrî was in one quarter of the Dakan, and that much land intervened between his province and Sultân Ahmad's, which land could without much trouble be added to his province. It behoved him, therefore, to forestall Ahmad NiẒām Shâh; and to capture and occupy that country before he entered it. 'Âdil Khân, therefore, set out from Bijâpûr, which was

⁴⁰ This date is wrong by four years. The provincial governors had been their own masters since the death of Muḥammad III, but Ahmad had not technically become a rebel until 1486, in which year his father was put to death, for he had been obedient to his father, who was regent. From the time of his father's death he was in open rebellion, but it was not until 1490 that he, Yûsuf 'Âdil Khân of Bijâpûr, and Faṭṭullâh 'Imâd-ul-Mulk of Berâr declared themselves, at Ahmad's instance, independent.

⁴¹ Ahmad's age is here absurdly understated. Firishta does not give it, but in 1478 he had been considered sufficiently dangerous to be banished from court and cannot then have been less than twenty-five years of age. His father was then at least sixty-five years of age and it is probable that Ahmad was thirty or even more, so that he was now probably about forty, and in 1490, when he actually declared his independence, forty-four or forty-five.

⁴² A fabulous bird of happy omen, supposed to fly constantly in the air without touching the ground and to indicate that the head on which its shadow falls will wear a crown.

⁴³ A fabulous bird said to dwell in Qâf or Mount Caucasus. The legend is similar to that of the phoenix.

his capital, with a very large army and encamped before the fort of Rānūbarī. As that fort was not very strong, 'Ādil Khān formed the intention of capturing it and handing over the command to one of his officers, in order that he might then make it his base of operations against Ahmad NiẒām Shāh's country, and capture that country with ease.

When the king's spies reported to him Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān's expedition, he issued orders for the assembling of his army, and prefects and muster-masters were sent in haste to all parts of the kingdom to bid the *amīrs* and chief officers of the army to assemble at court with their troops. In a short time a very large army was thus collected, with which the king marched against the enemy. When the royal army arrived at Ghāfi Vabalad, near which was the army of Majlis-i-Rafi' Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān, the king commanded that the pass at the head of the *ghāt* through which the invaders must pass, should be blocked, in order that their retreat might be cut off and that they might be confounded in the whirlpool of perplexity.

Although this plan for crushing the enemy was very well conceived, Masnad-i-'Āli Malik Naṣir-ul-Mulk and the rest of the *amīrs* humbly represented that to close entirely the enemy's way of retreat would but compel him to invade still further the king's dominions and to support himself there by plundering the country. The best plan, they said, would be for the royal army to move aside and leave one line of retreat open. The king accepted this advice and ordered the *amīrs* to choose a camping ground for the army. Then the king issued a *farmān* to the *kōlīs* dwelling in those parts, authorizing them to plunder and slay the enemy. The *kōlīs* had been hoping and praying for such a permission. The enemy's camp was surrounded by jungle and brushwood, so dense that an ant could not penetrate it without shedding its skin like a snake. The *kōlīs* crept through this jungle on dark nights and poured showers of arrows into the enemy's camp and carried off horses and goods without any serious opposition, and when the day broke, took refuge again in the jungle and in their places of retreat, and would then again lie in ambush and attack the enemy with clouds of arrows, and thus in a short time reduced the army of 'Ādil Shāh⁴⁴ to great straits. The enemy's spirit was entirely broken, and at last, without fighting and without having acquired any honour, they determined to retreat, and set forth on their retreat by that road which passed close to the camp of the royal army. Since the king's army had closed the enemy's line of retreat and every pass was occupied by a detachment of royal troops it was only with the greatest difficulty that 'Ādil Khān extricated himself alive. The royal army fell upon his troops and defeated them with great slaughter and those of the enemy who dismounted and fled on foot escaped, while those who would not dismount and throw away their arms were slain. The royal army took much spoil from the vanquished, and the king returned in triumph to his capital.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Here Sayyid 'Ali incautiously admits that Yūsuf was as much a king as his hero was.

⁴⁵ It is not easy to identify this raid of Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh's. The author of the *Basâtin-us-Salâtin* says that Khwāja Jahān of Bijāpur completed the fortress of Parenda in 1487, but there is no mention of any interruption of the work by Ahmad. According to Firishtā, Ahmad's first enterprise after his declaration of independence in 1490 was the reduction of Danda-Rājpurī (Chaul), the siege of which place he had raised on hearing of the death of his father in 1486. The siege now occupied him for ten months or a year, at the end of which time the fortress surrendered and left Ahmad free to march on Daulatābād. (F. ii, 186.) The account can hardly refer to Ahmad's expedition to Bijāpur in A. D. 1503-04 which was undertaken for the purpose of compelling Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh to revoke his ordinance establishing the Shiah religion (F. ii, 19), and it is not improbable that the incident has been invented by Sayyid Ali for the glorification of Ahmad.

XII.—AN ACCOUNT OF AHMAD NIZÂM SHÂH'S EXPEDITION AGAINST DAULATÂBÂD.

As Ahmad Nizâm Shâh was always anxious to capture fortresses, he now turned his attention to Deogîr, which is generally known as Daulatâbâd. This is a very strong fort, situated on a high hill, so strong that it has never been taken. So wonderful is the construction of the fort and so great are the stones used in its bastions and ramparts, that it is the generally received opinion, nay, it is certain, that it is not the work of men, but of some more powerful agency, for it is generally agreed that the work is beyond the power of men.⁴⁶

Sultân Maḥmûd Bahmanî had entrusted the *kotwâlî* and governorship of the fort of Daulatâbâd, with the city and the surrounding district, to Malik Sharq and Malik Wajîh,⁴⁷ two brothers who were among Sultân Maḥmûd's trusted officers. Since the time when Sultân Ahmad Shâh Bahrî had ascended the throne Malik Sharaf-ud-dîn, rendered confident by the impregnability of Daulatâbâd, had set foot in the desert of rebellion and strife. As the king was always anxious to conquer his hereditary dominions, he made preparations for the conquest of that lofty fortress. As the capture of this fortress by force of arms appeared to be very difficult, Ahmad Nizâm Shâh determined first to treat courteously and diplomatically with its governors and to endeavour to win their hearts. He therefore opened communications with them and gave in marriage to Malik Wajîh-ud-dîn one of the daughters of Malik Nâib, who was in his palace,⁴⁸ thus establishing friendship with him on a firm foundation. But since Malik Sharaf-ud-dîn's star was declining and the days of his prosperity drawing towards evening, he withdrew himself from the friendship which had been established, and his disposition deteriorated so that he committed blame-worthy acts, and the brotherly love which had existed between him and his brother, Malik Wajîh-ud-dîn, was changed to enmity. For Malik Sharaf-ud-dîn had considered the matter and had come to the conclusion that the result of this alliance with Ahmad Nizâm Shâh could lead to nothing but the loss of the command of the fort. Malik Sharaf-ud-dîn's wrath increased daily and he was ever resolving plans for the undoing of his brother, until at last he compassed his death.

After the murder of Malik Wajîh-ud-dîn, his widow, the daughter of Malik Nâib, went to Junnâr and appealed to Ahmad Nizâm Shâh for justice against her husband's murderer. The king comforted the victim of tyranny and resolved to revenge her on the tyrant, and to capture the fort of Daulatâbâd and the country belonging to it; and he set out with a large army for Daulatâbâd. When he reached Daulatâbâd he encamped before it, and his army surrounded the fortress and prevented all ingress and egress. The next day the king mounted his horse and reconnoitred the fortress. He perceived that its reduction by force of arms would be very difficult and that a protracted siege would be necessary. He came to the conclusion that it would be better to gain possession of it by stratagem, and he therefore summoned Masnad-i-ʿÂlî Malik Naṣîr-ul-Mulk and all his other *amîrs* and officers, and took counsel with them. When Naṣîr-ul-Mulk and the rest of the *amîrs* had heard what the king had to say, they said that his object could best be attained by laying waste and

⁴⁶ The fort was built by Muḥammad Tug̃luq between 1337 and 1343.

⁴⁷ *Sic*, for Malik Sharaf-ud-dîn and Malik Wajîh-ud-dîn. In subsequent passages I have corrected the names.

⁴⁸ This, of course, was Ahmad's own sister. Her name was Bibî Zainab and she bore to Wajîh-ud-dîn a son named Motî. Sharaf-ud-dîn, who was governor of the province, while his brother was commandant of the fort of Daulatâbâd, cherished the ambition of declaring his independence and much resented his brother's close alliance with Ahmad, because it strengthened both Ahmad and Wajîh-ud-dîn and diminished his chances of being in a position to assume independence. He therefore put both Wajîh-ud-dîn and his infant son Motî to death.

plundering the Daulatābād district every year at harvest time, and thus depriving the fort of supplies, by which process the defenders would be compelled to surrender. The king then issued orders that the plundering should begin at once and the army plundered the city and the surrounding country and destroyed the dwellings of the people. The king then returned to his capital.

XIII.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE CITY OF AHMADNAGAR.

Since the erection of buildings is one of the most essential affairs in the world and one of the most necessary for the comfort of mankind, great kings in all countries have left behind them wonderful monuments by building cities and laying out gardens planted with fruitful trees. The king of the age and the earth (Ahmad Nizām Shāh), who was ever solicitous for the welfare of the world and its inhabitants, determined to found a city. As it had been decided that the king should lead an army every year to Daulatābād to plunder and lay waste that province, and it would have been necessary for him on each occasion to traverse the considerable distance which intervened between Daulatābād and his capital, which in those days was Junnār, he determined to found a city between Junnār and Daulatābād in order that he might dwell there until the fall of Daulatābād and his army would not have so far to march. He therefore pitched on the site of Ahmadnagar, exactly half way between Junnār and Daulatābād, in a tract which in climate and in greenness and freshness of its hills and plains, may be compared with Paradise, and is indeed second only to the Paradise on high.

Some historians have given the following account of the founding of the fair city of Ahmadnagar. Ahmad Nizām Shāh, who was very fond of hunting and of wandering in the country, was one day hunting with some of his companions and nobles in the plain on which Ahmadnagar now stands. A fox was viewed, and the king ordered the hounds to be loosed on it. The fox tried to save himself by craft, but when this failed, and he was hard pressed by the hounds, he turned on them and faced them, ready to make a fight for his life. The king was much astonished and determined to build his new capital on the spot, deeming that the land which could instil such courage into a feeble animal like the fox, was a fit place for a king's abode.⁴⁹ He communicated his design to the *amīrs* and companions who were with him, and they applauded it. He then consulted his ministers and astrologers who declared that the spot was a fit one for the capital.

When it was finally decided to build the capital in that spot, the king halted there and having ordered the astrologers to select an auspicious day for the beginning of the work, summoned surveyors, architects, and builders from Junnār to lay out and build the city. An auspicious day was selected, and the surveyors, architects and builders obeyed the king's commands, and laid out and began to build the city with its palaces, houses, squares and shops, and laid out around it fair gardens. In a short time, a very fine city was brought to completion under the king's personal supervision.

When the question of the naming of the new city came up for consideration, the king remembered that the city of Ahmadābād in Gujarāt, which was built by the late Sultan Ahmad of that country, had been so called from the king who built it, his minister, and the *Qāzī* of the sacred law, who all bore the name of Ahmad. In this case also, by a fortunate coincidence, the king's name was Ahmad, the name of his minister, Masnad-i- 'Alī, Malik

⁴⁹ A similar story is told of the foundation of Bidar, Nirmal, and other towns. In fact there are very few towns in the Dakan, the foundation of which is recorded, of which the story is not told.

Naṣir-ul-Mulk Gujarâtî, was Ahmad, and the *Qâzi* of the royal army also bore the name of Ahmad. For this reason the new capital was named Ahmadnagar.

XIV—AN ACCOUNT OF THE CAPTURE OF THE FORTRESS OF DAULATÂBÂD.

It has already been mentioned that Ahmad Nizâm Shâh had determined to send an army every year into the Daulatâbâd district to plunder and ravage the country, to collect all the grain and all agricultural produce and to carry off what was moveable, and burn the rest, in order that the garrison might be prevented from carrying into the fort a single grain which would help to enable to sustain life. These orders were carried out, and every year, at the reaping time and harvest, an army used to invade that country and carry off all that they could, burning the houses and the dwellings of the cultivators and inhabitants.

When some years had passed in this manner, most of the cultivators and labourers of that country were reduced to sore straits by want of food and by the attacks of the royal army, and every day bands of men from the fort, guided by divine grace into the path of wisdom, truth, and righteousness, used to desert the fort and come to the royal court, where their affairs were bettered and they lived free from the anxieties of the times under the king's protection. Those misguided fools who turned their backs on the good fortune and sought not refuge in the royal court had their recompense from the world-consuming wind of the king's wrath, and those who were shut up in the fortress were reduced to the greatest straits. At length these turbulent men were compelled to go in a body to the originator of all the strife, Malik Sharaf-ud-dîn, and to represent to him that it was perfectly evident and clear to all that the heir of the kingdom and of the race of Bahman was none other than Ahmad Nizâm Shâh, who was too powerful to be resisted. They urged Sharaf-ud-dîn to submit, in order that their lives and the lives of their wives and children might be safe. Malik Sharaf-ud-dîn was obstinate and blind to his own interests and would not listen to their advice. Just now, however, Malik Sharaf-ud-dîn was overtaken by fate, and died, and immediately after his death all the inhabitants of the fortress, rich and poor, great and small, young and old, came forth and submitted to the king, surrendering to him the keys, and beseeching him to spare their lives. The king pardoned their offences, and the fortress of Daulatâbâd, like all the other forts which he had attacked, fell into his hands, and he appointed one of his officers to command it.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ This is a very cursory account of the capture of Daulatâbâd, which held out for a long time. Sharaf-ud-dîn took advantage of an invasion of *Khândesh* by Sultân Maḥmûd Bekara of Gujarât to send a message to Sultân Maḥmûd, imploring his aid against Ahmad Nizâm Shâh and promising, if it were given, to hold Daulatâbâd as a dependency of Gujarât, to remit annual tribute and to cause the *Khutbah* to be recited in the name of Sultân Maḥmûd. The first message had no result, but on receiving the second, Sultân Maḥmûd marched towards the Dakan and Ahmad Nizâm Shâh raised the siege and retired to Ahmadnagar. Sharaf-ud-dîn, in gratitude for this relief, caused the *Khutbah* to be recited in the mosque of Quṭb-ud-dîn Mubârek Shâh in the name of Sultân Maḥmûd, and Sultân Maḥmûd returned to Gujarât. After his retreat Ahmad Nizâm Shâh hastened, by forced marches, to Daulatâbâd and the Marâṭha garrison, who resented Sharaf-ud-dîn's recognition of the sovereignty of the king of Gujarât, sent messages assuring him of their loyalty and fidelity. Sharaf-ud-dîn discovered the correspondence and is said in one account to have fallen sick of grief and vexation and to have died within five or six days, when the fort was surrendered to Ahmad Nizâm. Another account, given in the *Muntakhab-ul-Lubâb*, Vol. III, attributes Sharaf-ud-dîn's death, with greater probability, to poison.

The history of the relations of Ahmadnagar, Berar, *Khândesh*, and Gujarât at this period seems with contradictions and discrepancies which it is impossible to reconcile.

XV—AN ACCOUNT OF AHMAD NIẒĀM SHĀH'S EXPEDITION TO HELP MAHMŪD SHĀH OF BURHĀNPŪR, AND HIS FIGHTING WITH MAHMUD SHĀH OF GUJARĀT, AND THE MANNER IN WHICH THE AFFAIR TERMINATED.

Historians relate that during the reign of Ahmad Shāh Bahri, 'Ādil Shāh Fārūqī, who was the ruler of Burhānpūr and its dependencies, died, and according to his will his son Mahmūd Shāh⁵¹ succeeded him.

In those days the ruler of the country of Gujarāt and the coasts of Somnāt was Sultān Mahmūd Bekara, who is also well known as Mahmūd Nikī, and the rulers of Burhānpūr by reason of their nearness to their powerful neighbour and their own weakness were always very submissive to the rulers of Gujarāt. Sultān Mahmūd of Gujarāt was puffed up with pride in his own power and greatness and in the strength of his army, and had strayed far from the path of justice and equity. When he heard that the ruler of Burhānpūr had entitled himself Mahmūd Shāh, he was intensely enraged and, summoning his *amīrs* and the officers of his army for the purpose of taking counsel with them in this matter, said to them, 'What power has the Burhānpūri to make himself the partner of our name and title, or to even himself with us?' At this time the brother of Mahmūd Shāh of Burhānpūr sent letters to the Sultān of Gujarāt, professing obedience to him, and securing his friendship by promising that when the army of Gujarāt invaded Khāndesh he would cause the fortress of Asir to be surrendered to it without a blow being struck. Sultān Mahmūd was delighted with this letter and set out with a very numerous army for Asir and Burhānpūr. When Mahmūd Shāh heard of the approach of Sultān Mahmūd, he was much alarmed, for he knew that he was not strong enough to meet the army of Gujarāt, and he therefore appealed for help to Ahmad NiẒām Shāh, and sent him a letter in which he complained of the high-handed conduct of Sultān Mahmūd, and besought him to come to his assistance.⁵²

⁵¹ There was never a Mahmūd Shāh of Khāndesh, and 'Ādil Khān II, here described as 'Ādil Shāh Fārūqī, died on the 28th September, 1501, and was succeeded by his brother Dā'ūd Khān, here described as "Mahmūd Shāh of Burhānpūr." The whole of this account of Ahmad's expedition to Khāndesh appears to be a fabrication and its details will be discussed later. What really happened was that Hīsam-ud-dīn, one of the worthless of Dā'ūd Khān's *amīrs*, invited Ahmad NiẒām Shāh to assist him in deposing Dā'ūd Khān. Ahmad, who had at his court a scion of the Fārūqī house of Khāndesh, one 'Ālam Khān, responded to the appeal and invaded Khāndesh in 1504 with the object of placing his *protégé* on the throne. Dā'ūd Khān appealed to Nā'ir-ud-dīn Shāh of Mālwa for assistance and he sent an army under Iqbāl Khān, one of his *amīrs*, which expelled Ahmad NiẒām Shāh and his *protégé* from Khāndesh. Ahmad's campaign against Mahmūd of Gujarāt came later and brought him no more credit than this one. (See Firishta, *passim*, and *An Arabic History of Gujarāt*.)

⁵² Major King, in a note to his preface to *The History of the Bahmani Dynasty*, says that Firishta never mentions the *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir*, unless he alludes to it under some other title, and adds, "Professional jealousy probably accounts for this."

Firishta does mention this work, but under another title. In connection with this story of Ahmad NiẒām Shāh's victory over Mahmūd of Gujarāt he writes (ii, 189): "In the *Waqā'i-i-Nizāmshāhiyyah* which Sayyid 'Alī Sammānī was writing in the reign of Burhān NiẒām Shāh II and which he did not live to finish, it is written (and the responsibility for the account is on him who wrote it,) etc."

Then follows a narrative based on the account here given but connected with Ahmad's siege of Daulatābād. The story is not exactly copied, as Firishta's habit is, but corresponds fairly with its original. Firishta concludes the passage with the following criticism, which can hardly be said to err on the side of severity.

"It would appear from the internal evidence supplied by this account that it has been hastily compiled or copied and that no attempt has been made to comment on it. But God knows the truth!"

Firishta's weakness was not professional jealousy, but shameless plagiarism.

It may be added that NiẒām-ud-dīn Ahmad, author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, probably refers to the *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir* in the following remark appended to his extremely brief notice of the reign of Ahmad NiẒām Shāh.

"As I have seen a long work on the history of this dynasty I have confined myself to this brief account."

Alĥmad Nizâm Shâh, who was ever ready to help the weak and oppressed, when he read Maĥmûd Shâh's letter, started at once with his army for Burhânpûr, and refrained from consulting Masnad-i-Âlî Naṣîr-ul-Mulk Gujarâtî, lest he should be opposed to an expedition against the king of his native land. Naṣîr-ul-Mulk, who was accustomed to being consulted in all matters of importance, obtained information of Aĥmad's intention, but although he adduced clear proofs of the danger of entering into this quarrel, the king would not follow his advice.

Aĥmad Nizâm Shâh marched to Burhânpûr and encamped there, but Masnad-i-Âlî was still endeavouring to allay the strife and was ever revolving plans to this end, in order that nothing might happen which should lead to the ruin of the country, or the harassing of the king's subjects, for the enemy's army was twice as strong as that of Aĥmad Nizâm Shâh, and victory and defeat depended upon the will of the Almighty. It occurred to him that it would be well to open a correspondence with those who were nearest to the person of Sulţân Maĥmûd of Gujarât and by this means to try to pour water on the fire of strife which was about to burst into flame. Accordingly he sent a letter to one of his intimate friends who was in the confidence of Sulţân Maĥmûd, saying that although, in accordance with the decrees of fate, he was in the service of Aĥmad Nizâm Shâh, yet he did not forget that Gujarât was his birth-place, and was a sincere well-wisher of Sulţân Maĥmûd, and made bold to represent what he thought was for his interest. He wondered, he said, that the person to whom he was writing, who was a wise and prudent man, should have arranged, and was continuing to arrange, that Sulţân Maĥmûd should engage personally in an expedition concerning so trivial a matter as the affair of Maĥmûd Shâh (of Burhânpûr) whose rank was no more than equivalent to that of one of Sulţân Maĥmûd's *amîrs*, especially when Aĥmad Nizâm Shâh had come to the assistance of the Burhânpûrî with his powerful army. He said that the Gujarâtîs could hardly be aware of the strength and valour of the army of the Dakan, who knew no fear at the prospect of a fight, but regarded it rather as others would a social banquet. Victory, he said, depended on the will of God, and it behoved the Gujarâtîs to consider carefully what was likely to be the upshot of this affair. Should the victory be theirs, people would say that Sulţân Maĥmûd had come with an overwhelming army and had overpowered a small force; but if, on the other hand, the reverse should be the case, Sulţân Maĥmûd's dynasty would incur a disgrace which would never be wiped out till the end of time.

Before the minister's letter reached the Gujarâtîs it fortunately happened that Aĥmad Nizâm Shah was able to devise a scheme for throwing the army of the enemy into confusion. The scheme was as follows. The king called a *mahaut* to him in private and ordered him to make his way into Sulţân Maĥmûd's camp and there make friends with the *mahaut* who had the charge of Birî Sâl, the largest and fiercest of all Sulţân Maĥmûd's elephants, and to persuade him by stimulating his avarice to loose Birî Sâl in the camp in the middle of the night, when Sulţân Maĥmûd and his army were all asleep, and thus throw the camp into confusion, when the two *mahauts* would have an excellent opportunity of plundering and of dividing their spoil one with the other. Aĥmad Nizâm Shâh also arranged to send on that night with the *mahaut* a force of rocketeers and musketeers, who were to conceal themselves in the vicinity of the camp and listen for the sound of the confusion in the enemy's camp, on hearing which they were to come forth and fire their rockets and muskets into the camp, at the same time making a fearful noise with drums and trumpets.

Aḥmad Niẓām Shāh's device succeeded. The *mahaut* and the force of infantry set out for the enemy's camp and the infantry lay in ambush, waiting for the *mahaut* to fulfil his promise. The *mahaut*, in accordance with his undertaking, made friends with Sultān Maḥmūd's *mahaut*, and then succeeded in persuading him to fall in with his proposals. In the middle of that dark night Bīrī Sāl's *mahaut* unfastened his leg chains and loosed the elephant in the camp. The elephant ran about trumpeting hither and thither in the camp, killing people as he went, and shouts of confusion arose from the camp of the Gujarātīs. Aḥmad Niẓām Shāh's infantry, who were awaiting this sound, sprang from their ambush with shouts, and with rockets and muskets ready. When the Gujarātīs saw that disaster was looming upon them from all directions and heard shouts from every side, they were convinced that Niẓām Shāh had made a night attack on their camp, but since they could not see their enemy and did not know which way to turn in order to face him, flight was the only choice left for them, and Sultān Maḥmūd and his army left their camp and fled in disorder, and did not check their flight until they had covered a distance of nearly twenty miles.

The next day spies announced to Aḥmad Niẓām Shāh the joyful news of the defeat of the enemy. And Aḥmad Niẓām Shāh marched from Burhānpūr and occupied the camp which Sultān Maḥmūd had left.

When Sultān Maḥmūd learnt that the disgraceful flight of his army had been occasioned by nothing which should have caused alarm, he was overwhelmed with shame. At this moment the letter of Masnad-i-ʿĀli Naṣīr-ul-Mulk reached his camp and was shewn to him. As the Sultān already repented of his coming in person, he confirmed the truth of what Naṣīr-ul-Mulk had written and said that what he had written had actually come to pass. He ordered his ministers to write to Naṣīr-ul-Mulk and say that if he would persuade his master to retreat, the army of Gujarāt would return to its own country. A letter in these terms was sent to Naṣīr-ul-Mulk and he shewed it to Aḥmad Niẓām Shāh. But Aḥmad Niẓām Shāh said that he would not budge until Sultān Maḥmūd had set out for his own country, for if he did, his retreat would be attributed to cowardice and would be a confession of weakness. A long correspondence on this subject ensued between the Dakanīs and the Gujarātīs and at last Masnad-i-ʿĀli wrote to the Gujarātīs to say that his purpose was to compose and not to foment the strife, and suggesting that the Gujarātīs should first march two stages towards Idar, when the Dakanīs would march two stages towards ʿImād-ul-Mulk's country and both armies could then retire to their own countries. This proposal was accepted and the Gujarātīs first marched towards Idar, and the Dakanīs then marched towards ʿImād-ul-Mulk's country, and Aḥmad Niẓām Shāh then returned to his capital.⁵³

⁵³ This imaginary account of a victory gained over Maḥmūd Shāh of Gujarāt is apparently intended to do duty for the history of Aḥmad Niẓām Shāh's two expeditions into Khāndesh. The result of the first, undertaken in 1504, has been given in note 51. The course of the second was briefly as follows:—Dāʾūd Khān died on the 28th August, 1508, and his son Ghāzī Khān was raised to the throne but was poisoned after a reign of ten days. With him the direct line of the Fārūqī house expired and two parties were now formed in Khāndesh, one under Ḥisām-ud-dīn, already mentioned, supporting ʿĀlam Khān, Aḥmad Niẓām Shāh's candidate, and the other under Malik Sādan, another *amīr*, supporting another ʿĀlam Khān, the candidate of Maḥmūd Shāh of Gujarāt. The latter, ʿĀlam Khān, who may be called, for distinction, ʿĀdil Khān, the title which he afterwards assumed, was a descendant in the fourth generation of Iḥsan, Malik Iftikḥār, younger son of Malik Rājā (1382—1399) the founder of the Fārūqī dynasty. Malik Iftikḥār had taken refuge in Gujarāt from his older brother, Naṣīr Khān, and his descendants had lived in that country and had intermarried with the royal family. Maḥmūd Shāh of Gujarāt had promised to place ʿĀdil Khān on the throne of Khāndesh and ʿĀdil Khān II had adopted him as his heir.

The king of Burhānpūr having thus, by Ahmad NiẒām Shāh's help, been freed from his powerful enemy, was firmly established on his throne in independence, but for the rest of his life he was under an obligation to Ahmad NiẒām Shāh and always deferred to him. Afterwards, when Burhān NiẒām Shāh was on the throne and strife was stirred up between him and Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt by 'Imād-ul-Mulk, Maḥmūd Shāh of Burhānpūr, remembering his obligation to Ahmad NiẒām Shāh, used his best endeavours to compose the quarrel, and succeeded in converting the enmity of the disputants into friendship, as will be related in the account of Burhān NiẒām Shāh's reign.

XVI—AN ACCOUNT OF THE BUILDING OF THE FORT OF AHMADNAGAR.

After the conquest of Daulatābād, the king determined to erect a fort in his capital of Ahmadnagar, which he had built. Surveyors and architects laid it out in an auspicious hour, and masons and overseers set to work to carry out the king's orders. In a short time this strong lofty fortress was completed, and was surrounded by a deep and wide ditch. The slope which formed a berm between the wall and the ditch was scarped, and the approach to the fort, even should the ditch be crossed, was thus rendered inaccessible. In the interior of the fort dwelling houses and other buildings were built, gardens were laid out and planted with fruit trees, flower gardens were planted with herbs and flowering plants, and fine palaces with arches and domed roofs were erected with colonnades and latticed walls like the mirror of the satin sky, red and yellow, with floors paved with turquoise and *lapis lazuli*, their courts were like the gardens and their fountains like the springs of paradise.

After the completion of the fort, the king made it the seat of his government and took up his residence there.

XVII—AN ACCOUNT OF THE DEATH OF MASNAD-I-'ĀLĪ MALIK NAẒĪR-UL-MULK GUJARĀTĪ

THE KING'S PRIME MINISTER, AND OF THE APPOINTMENT OF MIYĀN CHANDU

(MUKĀMMAL KHĀN) ONE OF THE KING'S OLD SERVANTS IN HIS PLACE.

After these events the king's faithful, able, and prudent minister, Masnad-i-'ĀlĪ Malik NaẒĪr-ul-Mulk, died, and he bade farewell to his ministry, and betook himself to the neighbourhood of the mercy of a forgiving God. The king was much grieved by the loss of his minister, but as the administration of the kingdom had to be carried on, he appointed to the vacant office of minister, Miyān Chandu, one of his old servants, who had great wisdom and intellectual power and was passably well fitted for the post and moderately generous. He gave him the title of Mukammal Khān, and conferred other favours upon him, and entrusted to him the care of his army and his subjects.

Some historians have said that Ahmad NiẒām Shāh predeceased Malik NaẒĪr-ul-Mulk Gujarātī, who poisoned him in a quid of betel and was executed for his treason, but the story which has been told above is nearer to the truth. But God knows the truth of the matter.

Ahmad NiẒām Shāh, invited by Ḥisām-ud-dīn, was first in the field and marched to Burhānpūr, where his candidate, 'Ālam Khān, was proclaimed. 'Ālā-ud-dīn 'Imād Shāh of Berar also marched to assist him. Meanwhile Maḥmūd Shāh, with 'Ādil Khān, invaded Khāndesh from the west and captured Thālnor. Ahmad NiẒām Shāh with his *protégé* and 'Ālā-ud-dīn 'Imād Shāh fled disgracefully to Gāwilgarh on hearing of Maḥmūd Shāh's approach and 'Ādil Khān was enthroned in Thālnor. Ahmad NiẒām Shāh, who had now reached the frontier of his own territories, wrote to Maḥmūd Shāh suggesting that his *protégé*, 'Ālam Khān, should inherit at least a share of the territories of Khāndesh, but unfortunately for him wrote as one king to another. Maḥmūd was much enraged and would not deign to answer the letter, but gave the unfortunate envoy a message for his master. How dared the son of a slave of the Bahmani kings, he said, write as though he were a king? A humble petition was the only communication that a slave should address to a king. Let Ahmad see that he did not repeat such insolence, or it would be the worse for him. The unfortunate Ahmad NiẒām Shāh retired, humiliated and mortified, to Ahmadnagar, taking his *protégé* with him.

Sayyid 'Alī's unwillingness to give a faithful account of such an event is comprehensible.

XVIII.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE DEATH OF SULTÂN AHMAD NIZÂM SHÂH.

Death comes alike to prince and peasant, and Sultân Ahmad Bahrî, after he had reigned for nineteen years and four months, or, according to another account, for twelve years and had waged holy wars and had taken most of the forts and districts of the Dakan from the idolaters and turbulent men, and made them his own, and had destroyed the temples and places of worship of the accursed infidels and the irreligious polytheists, came at last to the end of his days. The signs of death appeared in his face and the hand of sickness was heavy upon him. His *amirs* and officers of State, but especially Mukammal Khân, feared that his spirit would take flight from his sufferings and earnestly prayed that God would allow them to die rather than that they should behold the sufferings of their king. Although skilful physicians treated him with all the skill at their command, nothing was of any avail, and the king's power declined day by day.

When the king became aware of the approach of death, he withdrew from desire of wordly kingdom and sent for the prince, Al Mu'ayyad Min'andi'lâh Abûl Muẓaffar Burhân Nizâm Shâh, who was then seven years of age, and gave him his counsel.

After that he sent for the *amirs* and officers of State, and conjured them all to be faithful and obedient to the prince. All the *amirs* and officers of State, the rest of the army and the subjects of the king promised to be obedient to the prince and swore allegiance to him.

When the king had given his parting instructions to all about him, he died, and great grief fell on the *amirs*, the army, and all the kingdom. The *amirs* and the officers of the army made all preparations for the funeral and the king was buried in the tomb which he had built for himself in the environs of Ahmadnagar, in the garden known as the Rauẓah.⁵⁴

This calamity happened in A.H. 911 (A.D. 1505-06).⁵⁵

XIX.—THE CHARACTER OF AHMAD NIZÂM SHÂH.

Ahmad Nizâm Shâh was exceedingly chaste and continent. When riding through the city and the bazaars, he never glanced either to the right hand or to the left. One of his intimate companions one day asked him why he never looked around him on these occasions. The king replied that as he and his troops passed by, crowds of people both men and women, assembled to see them pass, and lined the doors and walls and crowded the streets and market-places. He could not look upon them without seeing somebody upon whom it was not proper to gaze, and as to let his glance rest on such a one would be displeasing to the Creator, he thought fit to refrain from looking about him.

Ahmad Nizâm Shâh was also noted for his austerity and piety. Once in the early days of his reign, while he was yet a young man, and at the age when the lusts of the flesh are predominant and most violent, he led an army against the fort of Bând and took it. Among the captives who fell into the hands of the royal army, was a most beautiful young woman whom Masnad-i-'Âli Malik Naẓir-ul-Mulk, on hearing of her beauty, summoned before himself. On seeing her, he considered that such a being should not come into the world, and wrote to the king, proposing to send her to the fort. The king replied, commanding him to do so. When the king retired to his bedchamber at night to go to rest, the woman came before him with blandishments and entreaties, but the king, being virtuous, asked her whether she had a husband, or a mother or a father. The woman replied that

⁵⁴ Probably Rauẓah, in the hills above Pandharpur, and not the Rauẓah in the city of Ahmadnagar.

⁵⁵ Firishta says (ii, 198) that Ahmad Bahrî died in the year 911. This is generally accepted as correct, for Ahmad certainly died in the year 911. There is, however, some evidence in favour of the later date, 912. The date 912 is given by the author of the *Shah-Nama* in the places Burhân's accession, and consequently of Ahmad's death. The date 911 is given by the author of the *Shah-Nama* in the places Burhân's accession, and consequently of Ahmad's death.

her husband and her parents were living, and the king at once extinguished the fire of lust and bade the woman be comforted, for he would send for her husband and her parents and hand her over to them. In this case it may be said that Ahmad Nizâm Shâh's chastity and continence excelled those of Joseph, for Zulaikhâ, being the wife of Joseph's master, was not lawful to him, whereas this woman being a captive taken in war, was lawful to Ahmad Nizâm Shâh. On the following day Masnad-i-'Âli Malik Naṣir-ul-Mulk came to pay his respects to the king and would have congratulated him on his enjoyment, but the king told him of what had passed, and of his promise to the woman. In accordance with the royal commands, the woman's husband and parents were produced and, after they had been royally entertained, the king handed the woman over to her husband.

One of Ahmad Nizâm Shâh's wise customs was this. If by chance in the day of battle he saw one of his men behave in a cowardly manner and turn his back on the enemy, he would send for him and ask him, kindly and gently, why he had behaved so. When the coward, in halting phrases, excused himself, the king would give him a quid of betel and allow him to depart to his post. When the fight was over, and those who had distinguished themselves, were brought up to receive robes of honour and royal favours, the king would first enquire for the coward and, when he had been found, would confer on him a robe of honour and other favours, and would afterwards bestow rewards on the brave. One day one of the king's more intimate associates made so bold as to say that it was not understood why the king thus gave to a coward precedence of those who had borne the burden and heat of the day, and had acquitted themselves valiantly. The king replied that the reason for this practice would be made known to him later. Shortly afterwards it so happened that the king's army was engaged with the troops of the enemy, and the man who had on a former occasion fled from the battle, now charged the enemy more valiantly than the bravest of the army. The king, turning towards the courtier who had objected to his kindly treatment of the coward, said, 'Now the reason for my kindness to men of this class is apparent, and you know that to convert the cowards of the army into brave men by this device is wise policy.'

Another of the king's wise actions may be mentioned here. Dalpat Rai, a Brâhman officer in the army, was jealous of Masnad-i-'Âli Malik Naṣir-ul-Mulk, as is often the case with officers whose sole aim and object is the acquisition of wealth, and who cannot bear to see anybody more prosperous than themselves. Dalpat Rai, prompted by his evil passions, forged a memorandum, purporting to be in the handwriting of Masnad-i-'Âli, in order to show that Masnad-i-'Âli received large sums as bribes from the officers and governors of countries on the borders of the king's dominions. Spies reported this matter to Masnad-i-'Âli and he, without thought of denying the charge, said, 'Dalpat Rai does not know the truth of this matter. Those who have given and he who has received the bribes must necessarily know more about the matter than Dalpat Rai.' He then drew up, as a counterblast to Dalpat Rai's memorandum, another memorandum shewing that he had received double the amounts mentioned in Dalpat Rai's memorandum. On the day on which the king held his court, Dalpat Rai came forward and presented to him his memorandum. The king turned to Masnad-i-'Âli and asked him to explain the accusation which had been brought against him by Dalpat Rai. Masnad-i-'Âli, after praying for the king's long life and prosperity, said, 'What can Dalpat Rai know of my outgoings and incomings?' and placed in the king's hand the memorandum which he had himself prepared. The king, on reading this memorandum, found that the sums mentioned therein were greater than the sums mentioned in Dalpat

XX—THE ACCESSION OF AL-MU‘AYYAD MIN‘INDI-‘LLÂH ABU-L-MUẒAFFAR BURHÂN
NIZÂM SHÂH TO THE THRONE OF SOVEREIGNTY, AND A BRIEF ACCOUNT
OF THE EVENTS OF HIS REIGN.

When the king Al-Musta‘ân bi-‘inâyati-‘llâh Abûl MuẒaffar Aḥmad Shâh (*bin Muḥammad Shâh bin Humâyûn Shâh Bahmanî*) having cleared the land of his enemies and given fresh lustre to Islâm, died in A.H. 911 (A.D. 1505-06), his son, Abû‘l MuẒaffar Burhân Nizâm Shâh in the same year, *viz.*, A.H. 911,⁵⁸ adorned with his person the crown and throne of sovereignty, and caused both the currency and the *khulbah* of the Dakan to run in his name. In his reign the wolf herded the sheep and the hawk guarded the pigeon.

It is well known that the events in the reign of Burhân Nizâm Shâh were so numerous that they cannot easily be narrated, for, according to the best-known accounts, the king reigned for nearly fifty years, and of all those years there was not one in which his armies did not go forth to fight against his enemies; and as no historian has hitherto attempted to give a detailed and systematic account of his reign and many discrepancies are to be found between the accounts of those who lived in that fortunate reign, or shortly after it, especially with regard to the sequence of events, the author of this history trusts that he will not be severely censured for any errors or discrepancies that may appear in his account.

Burhân Nizâm Shâh, at the time of his accession, was not quite seven years of age, and Mukammal Khân, who had held the office of *vakil* and *pîshva* since the reign of the late king, Aḥmad Shâh Bahrî, took the whole administration of the army and the state into his own hands and governed the kingdom almost as an independent king. His son, Jamâl-ud-dîn who had received the title of ‘Azîz-ul-Mulk, had drunk from the cup of place and pomp until he was drunk with power and pride and so enmeshed in the lusts to which youth is prone, that he paid regard to none but himself. Owing to the power of the regent and his son, a party of the *amîrs* and chief men of the Dakan, moved by envy and the desire of stirring up strife, conspired to raise to the throne the king’s younger brother, who was known as Râjajî, but since God had decreed the kingdom to Burhân Nizâm Shâh, the plot failed.

When the opponents of the Government realized that it was useless to attempt to reverse the Divine decrees, they submitted and made obeisance at the gate of the royal court.

XXI—AN ACCOUNT OF THE CAUSES OF THE QUARREL WHICH OCCURRED BETWEEN
BURHÂN NIZÂM SHÂH AT THE BEGINNING OF HIS REIGN, AND
SHAIKH ‘ALA-UḌ-ḌÎN ‘IMÂD-UL-MULK.

A.D. 1510-11. Early in the reign of Burhân Nizâm Shâh, the *amîrs*, the officers of state and the subjects generally were discontented, owing to the great power enjoyed by Mukammal Khân and the pride and arrogance of his son, ‘Azîz-ul-Mulk. ‘Azîz-ul-Mulk plunged into all sorts of immorality and wanton pastimes, and used oppressively to violate men’s honour, and this tyranny was unbearable to the men of the Dakan, so that a great outcry arose against him. Some of the *amîrs*, such as Rûmî Khân, Qadam Khân, Munîr Khân, and others, feared that he entertained designs against them, owing to the part which they had played in the attempt to raise Râjajî to the throne, and for this slight cause, making ‘Azîz-ul-Mulk’s enormities their excuse, left the court and took refuge with ‘Imâd-ul-Mulk in Berar, where they made every effort to stir up strife. They persuaded

⁵⁸ Firishta (ii, 198) gives the chronogram *فیض جاریہ* for the accession of Burhân Nizâm Shâh I. This gives the date 914 (A.D. 1508-09).

'Imâd-ul-Mulk that the rule of Mukammal Khân and his son, during the king's minority, were hateful to the people, and that the conquest of the country would be an easy matter, adding that it was not the part of a wise king to let slip an opportunity of this nature and give his enemies time. 'Imâd-ul-Mulk was beguiled by their words and was proud of the strength of his army. He collected his troops from all quarters of his country and marched towards Ahmadnagar.

When the news of 'Imâd-ul-Mulk's movements reached the king, he ordered Mukammal Khân to send swift messengers to all parts of the kingdom to summon the army, and to send the royal tents on towards Berar. These orders were carried out. The *amîrs* and officers were summoned with their troops, and the royal tents were sent forward towards Berar. When the army was assembled at the capital it marched rapidly towards the town of Rânûbari,⁵⁹ where it encamped.

'Imâd-ul-Mulk also marched from the direction of Berar towards Rânûbari and encamped over against the royal army.

On the following day, when the sun rose, the two armies were drawn up in battle array, facing one another.

Mukammal Khân divided the royal army into two divisions. The duty of one was to guard and protect the king, and the command of this division was given to Miyân Kâlâ Azhdar Khân. As the king was too young to be able to manage a charger, Azhdar took him in front of him, and tied a sash round the king's waist and his own, lest the horse should become restive on hearing the noise of battle and unseat the king. The duty of the other division was to attack the enemy.

'Imâd-ul-Mulk also divided his army into two divisions, and appointed one to repel the attack of the second division of the army of Burhân Nizâm Shâh, while he led the other division against the division appointed to guard the person of the king.

The royal army marched out of the town of Rânûbari and met the enemy, and a fierce battle was fought. While the battle was in progress, two of the bravest of the king's elephants, named Barkhurdâr and Buzurgwâr, were taken by their riders to a river which ran near the field of battle in order that they might be watered. At the river they met and fought, and, so fighting, being beyond the control of their drivers, moved in the direction of the enemy. When the royal troops saw that two of the king's own elephants were going towards the enemy, they charged after them, fearing lest they might be seized by the enemy. It fortunately happened at this moment that 'Imâd-ul-Mulk was informed that the *amîr* of Burhân Nizâm Shâh, who had joined themselves to the king, were deserting him and joining the army of Burhân Nizâm Shâh. When 'Imâd-ul-Mulk heard of this news and at the same time saw the bravest of the royal troops charging after the elephants with lost heart and fled, he did not until he had reached the midst of his own army. The victorious army pursued the enemy and slew very many of them, taking for spoils thousands of spoil, horses, elephants,

⁵⁹ Firishta (ii, 199) has Rânûrî. From the account of the battle given in the *Shah-Nâmâ* the site of the battle was probably Rânûrî. The account of the battle in the *Shah-Nâmâ* does not differ materially from that in the *Shah-Nâmâ* of Burhân Nizâm Shâh and his son 'Aziz-ul-Mulk for having been written by a person who came from Ahmadnagar. He took with them 8,000 horse. The *Shah-Nâmâ* also mentions that the army of Burhân Nizâm Shâh's army was defeated. The *Shah-Nâmâ* also mentions that 'Imâd Shâh was so closely pursued by the army of Burhân Nizâm Shâh that he fled to Khandesh that made peace between the two kings.

to relieve the king from his dominance. The king highly approved of this plan and gave Dânyya leave to depart, urging him to use his best endeavours to put 'Azîz-ul-Mulk out of the way. Dânyya, in accordance with the royal command, returned to Antûr, and there set up the standard of rebellion. When news of this rebellion was brought to 'Azîz-ul-Mulk, 'Azîz-ul-Mulk, who trusted none of the *amîrs* of the Dakan, sent his brother, Jahângîr Khân, to crush the rebellion, and Jahângîr Khân, with a numerous army, of the strength of which he was very proud, marched for Antûr and encamped before the fort. When Dânyya heard of the approach of Jahângîr Khân, he closed the fort against him, withdrew his men from the walls and bastions, and made no sign of offering resistance. Jahângîr Khân attributed this conduct to Dânyya's pusillanimity and was emboldened to attack the fort, and with great assurance ordered his troops to attack the fort on all sides at once. The defenders waited until Jahângîr Khân's troops had advanced to within a short distance of the walls, and then poured in upon them a deadly fire of artillery and musketry. The army of Jahângîr Khân was broken; many were slain, and some fled. The sons of Jaya Singhji came forth from the fort with their brave army and pursued the fugitives like messengers of death, Jahângîr Khân had the ill fortune to be taken prisoner by Dânyya's troops, but the rest of his army escaped, though with great difficulty. Dânyya ordered that Jahângîr Khân should be paraded through his army on an ass, like a thief, as an example to all disloyal men, and that he should then be punished for his ill deeds, that all men might know that this was the reward of treason.

When 'Azîz-ul-Mulk heard that his brother's nose had been cut off, he raved like a madman, and went to the king and reported the matter to him, saying that if the king treated this matter lightly and did not set forth in person to put down Dânyya's rebellion, it would gain head and would soon be beyond repression.

The king, seeing no way out of the difficulty, ordered his army to assemble at the capital and sent his tents forward. 'Azîz-ul-Mulk, inflamed with pride, ordered the army to assemble from far and near, and the king set out with his troops towards the fort of Antûr.

In the course of the march, the king's loyal servants, seizing a favourable opportunity, advised the king to issue to the *amîrs* who had fled from the court for fear of 'Azîz-ul-Mulk and had taken refuge with 'Imâd-ul-Mulk in Berar, a safe conduct to court, in order that by their aid he might be freed from the domination of disloyal and ungrateful subjects. The king acted on this advice and sent a safe conduct to the *amîrs* who, by great good fortune, joined the royal camp from that direction before the army reached Antûr, and, before they had even paid their respects to the king, entered 'Azîz-ul-Mulk's tent, seized him, and blinded him with a red-hot iron, thus freeing the world from the strife and confusion caused by that chief of the lords of oppression and injustice. They then went on to the king's presence and had the honour of making their obeisance. They were honoured with robes of honour, golden girdles, and other marks of the royal favour, in order that it might be made clear to the world that loyalty and obedience are rewarded and disloyalty and ingratitude punished.

After the blinding of 'Azîz-ul-Mulk, the king appointed no other person to the office of *pîshvâ*, but, in spite of his tender age, which was no more than twelve years, took the whole administration of the kingdom into his own hands and so apportioned his time that every moment was devoted to some affair of importance; and he never, for a long time, varied this arrangement. Like the sun, he never rested by day from attending to the wants of the humble and, like his own wakeful fortune, he scarcely slept at night for employment in the affairs of his subjects.

Meanwhile, Mīr Rukn-ud-dīn, who was a faithful and pious man, was *vazīr* of the kingdom of the Dakan, Shaikh Ja'far and Maulānā Pir Muḥammad Shīrvāna, who were companions of Mīr Rukn-ud-dīn, having been admitted to the king's presence by the favour of the Mīr, were appointed to be his companions.

Since, however, the dealings of Mīr Rukn-ud-dīn with the king's subjects were not marked by justice and equity, complaints of him reached the royal threshold and he had been *vazīr* for a short time only, when the office was taken from him and given to Shaikh Ja'far.⁶¹

XXIII—AN ACCOUNT OF THE WARFARE BETWEEN BURHĀN NIẒĀM SHĀH AND
'IMĀD-UL-MULK, AND OF THE DEFEAT OF 'IMĀD-UL-MULK IN THE LAST
BATTLE AND HIS FLIGHT TO GUJARĀT.

After 'Imād-ul-Mulk had fled before the royal troops in the battle which took place in the neighbourhood of the town of Rānūbarī, and had lost most of his elephants, horses and munitions of war, he was constantly overwhelmed with shame at the thought of the disgrace which had befallen him, and was again preparing for war in the hope that he might be able to retrieve his honour. He collected a large army of capable troops and marched for Berar with the object of making war on Burhān NiẒām Shāh.

Spies reported to Burhān NiẒām Shāh the approach of 'Imād-ul-Mulk with a large army, and the king immediately issued orders for the assembling of his forces, and the troops assembled at the capital. The king then summoned his *amīrs* and the officers of his army and took counsel with them regarding the means of repelling the invader. Their reply was a request to be led against the enemy. The king highly approved their decision and set out with his forces to meet 'Imād-ul-Mulk.

The king and his army marched from the capital and met 'Imād-ul-Mulk in the neighbourhood of the town of Borgāon,⁶² where a desperate battle took place. The Yamanī sword rested not from scattering heads, and Death's executioner stayed not a moment from

61 The death of Mukammal Kīān shortly after the battle of Rāhūrī, the appointment of his son 'Aziz-ul-Mulk as *pīshvā*, and Dānayya's feigned rebellion in Antūr are not mentioned by Firishṭa, who says that Mukammal Kīān was still in power in A.H. 924 (A.D. 1518) after the capture of Pāthri by Burhān NiẒām Shāh, when the king was seventeen years of age. Burhān, after his return to Ahmadnagar, became enamoured of a courtesan named Āmana or Amīna, and was so infatuated with her that he married her and made her the chief lady of his seraglio. She led him into evil courses and taught him to drink wine, so that he neglected his royal duties and spent his time in riotous living. Mukammal Kīān, now an old man, tendered his resignation of his office on the ground that the king had reached years of discretion. His resignation was accepted and Shaikh Ja'far the Dakanī was appointed *vakil* and *pīshvā*. Mukammal Kīān's son, perhaps 'Aziz-ul-Mulk, was made an *amīr*, but there is no mention of his being appointed to any particular office. Mukammal Kīān lived henceforth in retirement, only occasionally attending at court. (F-i, 200, 201.)

It is impossible to reconcile these two accounts, but it is more probable that a youth of seventeen should give way to sensuality than that a boy of twelve should administer and rule a kingdom.

62 Borgāon and Fargāon (Wargāon) are common village names in Berar and I have not been able to identify the Deonati river, mentioned lower down, but the village of Vālorān, mentioned in the following chapter, is Vālor, situated in 19° 29' N. and 76° 36' E. Firishṭa mentions neither of these campaigns against 'Alā-ud-dīn 'Imād Shāh, and according to him the first hostilities between Ahmadnagar and Berar, after the battle of Rāhūrī, were those which resulted in the annexation of Pāthri by Burhān NiẒām Shāh in 1518. From Sayyid 'Alī's mention, in his account of what he calls the third campaign, of 'Alā-ud-dīn 'Imād Shāh's flight to Gujarāt, it is obvious that he has confounded the first and second captures of Pāthri. In 1526-27, as will be hereafter noted, 'Alā-ud-dīn recaptured Pāthri and Burhān then allied himself with Alī Burīd of Bīdar and not only captured Pāthri a second time but drove 'Alā-ud-dīn and his ally, Muḥammad Shāh Fārūqī I of Kīāndesh, through Berar in such sorry plight that they were constrained to appeal for help to Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt.

cutting off hope of life, until the earth was elad in robes like those of the 'Abbāsīs. Large numbers were slain on both sides and victory declared for neither. Each commander drew off his forces and made for his own country.

After the lapse of a short time, the two armies again marched against each other and met near the Deonati river, where a battle was fought. The officers who specially distinguished themselves on the NiẒām Shāhī side were, 'Ālam Khān, Rūmi Khān, Qadam Khān, Munir Khān, 'Undat-ul-Mulk, Khairāt Khān, Fūlād Khān, Miyan Raja, Dānayya Rui Rai, and others.

The battle raged till sunset, when both armies retired to their own camps; and on the following day the two kings, neither having gained the victory, retired to their own countries.

In this warfare the great amīrs of the kingdom of the Dakan, who were usually in attendance on the king, were Makhdūm Khayāja Jahān and 'Ain-ul-Mulk, who were of the number of his servants.

XXIV.—AN ACCOUNT OF HIS MAJESTY'S THIRD CAMPAIGN AGAINST 'IMĀD-UL-MULK ('ĀLA-UD-DĪN 'IMĀD SHĀH).

Since the king had twice taken the field against the enemy, and had on neither occasion been victorious, he was inflamed with the spirit of emulation and with jealousy of his foe, and set himself to improve the condition of his army and to increase its strength. He then set out with a large army against 'Āla-ud-dīn 'Imād Shāh of Berar.

When 'Imād-ul-Mulk heard of the king's approach, he spared no efforts to collect his army, and, having collected a very numerous and valiant force, marched to meet the king.

The two armies met in the neighbourhood of the village of Vālorān, where they encamped over against one another and threw out outposts for their protection during the night. On the following day they were drawn up in battle array against each other, and the battle began. The fight was fierce and bloody. At length victory declared for the king and the army of 'Imād-ul-Mulk fled from the field, the king's troops pursuing them with great slaughter. All 'Imād-ul-Mulk's elephants, horses, arms, tents and camp equipage, and those of his army, both small and great, fell into the hands of the royal troops. 'Imād-ul-Mulk, with great difficulty, and after suffering many hardships, contrived to escape, but was so overcome with shame, that instead of returning to Elichpūr, which was his capital, he made his way to Gujarāt.

The king, when the pursuit had been pressed to the utmost, dismounted and took his seat on a mound in the neighbourhood, while his army presented before him the spoil which had been captured from the enemy, and congratulated him on the victory which had been gained. The king caused all this most abundant spoil, except the elephants, which are the perquisite of royalty, to be divided among his army.

XXV.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE CAPTURE OF THE FORTRESS OF PĀTHRĪ.

After the defeat of 'Imād-ul-Mulk, the king marched towards Pāthri, which is one of the greatest and strongest fortresses of Berar, and which he straightly besieged. The royal army surrounded the fortress and opened their batteries against it. The besieged made some efforts to defend the fort, but since they were, at the outset, overcome by fear of the besiegers, these efforts were of little avail. When the royal army saw that the spirit of the garrison was already broken, they stormed the fort, pouring into the ditch and mounting the ramparts. Some thus scaled the ramparts and bastions while others entered the fort by

Shāh Ṭāhir, accordingly, taking with him his family and dependents, left Kāshān, that abode of true believers, in A.H. 926 (A.D. 1520) for Hindūstān. He travelled speedily to the shores of the Indian Ocean and sailed from the island of Jarūn⁶⁶ in a ship bound for the port of Goa. It said that that holy man, after having his Friday prayers, embarked and by God's blessing and help was enabled to say his prayers on the following Friday at the port of Goa, and this was one of the signs of the heavenly blessings which sprang from the visit of that holy man to Hindustan. On arriving in India, he wrote a letter, dated in the early days of Jamādī-ul-Avval, A.H. 926 (April 19, 1520) to one of his friends, informing him of the voyage which he had undertaken, and of his safe arrival in Goa.

As soon as the news of Shāh Ṭāhir's flight became known, the Shāh of Persia sent horsemen after him with instructions to turn him back wherever they should find him, but since it was God's purpose that the Dakan should profit by the presence of that holy man, he had embarked on his voyage to India before the Shāh's messengers came up with him. The Shāh soon became aware that the reports which he had heard against Shāh Ṭāhir were the fabrications of ill-disposed men and repented of having acted on them. He set himself to make amends to Shāh Ṭāhir, but was overtaken by death before he could carry his design into effect. His son and successor, Shāh Ṭahmāshb,⁶⁷ did his best to make amends to Ṭāhir as will be seen from the *farmāns* which he issued to him.

After landing at Goa, Shāh Ṭāhir went to Bijāpūr but, finding that the conditions of life in that city did not suit him, he went to Gulbarga, which was formerly the capital (of the Dakan) under the name of Al sanābād. After having rested for some time in that city, he formed the design of performing the pilgrimage, and, having set out thence, reached the town of Purenda which was on his way. Makhdūm Khyāja Jahān, who was at that time governor of the fort and town of Purenda, on hearing of the holy man's arrival, made haste to wait on him, and he represented to him that as the rainy season was in progress and travelling was very difficult, he would do well to honour Purenda by staying there for some time. Shāh Ṭāhir accepted this invitation and remained in Purenda in comfort during that rainy season, employing his time in imparting religious instruction.

Meanwhile, Maulānā Pir Muḥammad Shīrvānī, one of the learned men of that age and a companion of Burhān NiẒām Shāh, came from the capital to Purenda on an embassy to Makhdūm Khyāja Jahān, and on learning of Shāh Ṭāhir's presence in the town, waited on him, and daily thereafter attended his lectures, profiting much by the religious instruction which he received. When the period of his embassy had expired, he returned to the capital and acquainted the king with the perfections of Shāh Ṭāhir. When the king heard of his learning and piety, he sent a *farmān* to Makhdūm Khyāja Jahān, the contents of which were communicated to Shāh Ṭāhir, who took offence, because a separate *farmān* had not been issued to him, and excused himself from attending at court. As, however, the king's desire to see Shāh Ṭāhir increased daily, he sent Maulānā Pir Muḥammad Shīrvānī again to Purenda with a letter addressed to Shāh Ṭāhir, in which he gave utterance to his great desire of seeing him. Shāh Ṭāhir, on perusing this letter, set out at once for

⁶⁶ The well-known town in Persia, about 90 miles north of Isfahān.

⁶⁶ There is no island of this name in the Persian Gulf. Sayyid 'Alī probably means to say that he came to the Persian Gulf *via* Jahrum, in Fārs, about 90 miles south-east of Shirāz.

⁶⁷ Shāh Ṭahmāshb I (1524—1576), son and successor of Ismā'il I.

the capital in the months of the year—⁶⁸ On his arrival at Aĥmadnagar he paid his respects to the king, who found that what he heard fell, in truth, far short of the holy man's perfections, and honoured Shāh Ṭāhir exceedingly.

XXVII.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE COMING OF SULTĀN BAHĀDUR OF GUJARĀT TO THE DAKAN, AND OF HIS RETURNING WITHOUT ACCOMPLISHING HIS OBJECT.

It has already been mentioned that when 'Imād-ul-Mulk, the governor of Berar, was defeated by the royal army at Vālor and fled before them, he found it difficult to escape from them, and therefore in his terror fled and took refuge with Sultān Bahādur, the king of Gujarāt, who at that time excelled all the kings of Hindūstān in the strength of his army, and the state which he maintained, and appealed to him for assistance, doing his utmost to stir up strife by representing the conquest of Burhān Niẓām Shāh's dominions as an exceedingly easy matter. For a long time Sultān Bahādur hesitated and neglected to return an answer to 'Imād-ul-Mulk's request, or to further his object, but at length he was deceived and beguiled by 'Imād-ul-Mulk's tales and the desire of conquering the Dakan took possession of his heart, and he collected a very numerous army.⁶⁹

Sultān Bahādur then marched from Gujarāt to Daulatābād and encamped before the fortress. His *amīrs* and officers of state incited him to capture the fortress by saying that as soon as it was in his hands the submission of the Niẓām Shāhī dominions would follow as a matter of course, as Daulatābād was the stronghold and the greatest fortress of that country. Sultān Bahādur accordingly laid siege to the fortress, but though the siege was

cs Blank in the original. The year should be either 927 or 928 (A. D. 1521 or 1522).

Firishta (ii, 213) gives a long account of the descent and antecedents of Shāh Ṭāhir, who claimed descent from the Fātimid Caliphs of Egypt. His family had been settled in Khūnd, a village in the Qazvin province of northern Persia and on the borders of Gilān, for 300 years. Shāh Ismā'il I was jealous of Shāh Ṭāhir owing to his illustrious descent and his reputation for sanctity and learning, and lent a ready ear to the accusation that Ṭāhir was a leader of the Ismā'īli heretics. A warrant for his execution was about to be issued when he escaped, owing to the timely warning given to him by Mirzā Shāh Husain Isfahānī, *nāzir* of the *divān* of Shāh Ismā'il.

69 Sayyid 'Alī has confused the sequence of events and has thus failed to explain the circumstances which led to the invasion of the Dakan by Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt.

In 1526-27 (see note 62) 'Alā-ud-dīn 'Imād Shāh of Berar, encouraged by Ismā'il 'Ādil Shāh of Bijāpūr and assisted by Sultān Qulī Quṭb Shāh of Golconda, recovered Pāthri, which he had lost in 1518. Burhān Niẓām Shāh allied himself with 'Alī Barīd of Bīdar and again captured the place, after a siege of two months. They then advanced to Mahūr, captured that fortress, and marched towards Elichpūr. 'Alā-ud-dīn' who was not strong enough to withstand them, fled to Burhānpūr and sought help of Muḥammad Shāh I of Khāndesh, who joined him and marched with him to meet Burhān and Amīr 'Alī Barīd. A battle was fought in which Muḥammad and 'Alā-ud-dīn were defeated. They fled to Burhānpūr, after losing 300 elephants. From Burhānpūr they sent envoys to Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt, entreating him to assist them, and Bahādur, seizing the opportunity of intervening in the affairs of the Dakan, set out in 1528, marching by way of Nandurbār. He drove Burhān and Amīr 'Alī Barīd out of Berar, but lingered so long in that country as to excite the apprehensions of 'Alā-ud-dīn, who urged him to hasten on towards the Aĥmadnagar dominions.

Burhān was much alarmed and appealed to Ismā'il 'Ādil Shāh and Sultān Qulī Quṭb Shāh to assist him in repelling the invaders. He even wrote to Bābur, who had recently conquered Delhi, for help. Sultān Qulī was too much occupied with a campaign against the Hindūs to be able to spare any troops, but Ismā'il sent 6,000 good cavalry, which force was joined by Amīr 'Alī Barīd of Bīdar with 3,000 horse of his own.

prosecuted with the utmost vigour and caution, there appeared to be no prospect of the reduction of the fortress, for Manjan Khān, son of Khairāt Khān, who was at that time the *kotwāl* of the fort, was a valiant and energetic soldier, and devoted all his energies to the defence.

At this time Malik Barīd, ruler of the country of Bīdar, who was noted among the *amīrs* of the Dakan for his bravery and valour, wrote to 'Imād Shāh, with whom he was connected, saying that although there might be some cause for the quarrel between him and NiẒām Shāh, he had shown little wisdom in undermining the foundations of his own house and of his own sovereignty, for it was evident to anybody with any sense, that if Sultān Bahādur conquered the NiẒām Shāh kingdom, 'Imād Shāhī would not reign long in Berar. He advised 'Alā-ud-dīn 'Imād Shāh to settle his quarrel with Burhān NiẒām Shāh peaceably, so that by this means the enemy might be induced to abandon his design of conquering the Dakan.

'Alā-ud-dīn 'Imād Shāh, on thinking over the matter, realized that his alliance with Sultān Bahādur was not likely to bring him anything in the end but ruin and repentance, and he therefore began to play Sultān Bahādur false. He withdrew his camp to a short distance from that of the Gujarātīs and secretly sent a message to Manjan Khān, saying that although he had cause of quarrel with Burhān NiẒām Shāh, he would not leave him defenceless, and would never permit the conquest of his dominions by the ruler of Gujarāt. He encouraged Manjan Khān to resist the besiegers boldly, promising him that when the time came, the army of Berar would fight for him and not for the Gujarātīs.

Manjan Khān was much cheered and encouraged by the receipt of this news and opposed the Gujarātīs more stoutly than before, making daily sorties from the fort and killing many of them. At last the Gujarātīs grew heartily weary of the siege, and all of them clearly showed that they were disheartened, for they had realized that the attempt to capture that fort could bring them nothing but shame. Sultān Bahādur then summoned 'Imād-ul-Mulk and all his *amīrs* to his presence, and after they had made their obeisance; he consulted them as to the best method of capturing the fort. 'Imād-ul-Mulk, who was now most anxious that Sultān Bahādur should retire, said that he had been opposed to the siege from the first, but that as the Sultān had ordered it, he did not like to say anything against it, lest he should be suspected of having some purpose of his own to serve. Now, however, that he was consulted, he made bold to offer his opinion as to what was the best course. He said that nothing was to be gained by allowing the army to waste its strength in attempts to capture the rock-fortress; that the best thing was to abandon the field and bring Burhān NiẒām Shāh to battle, for it was certain that he could not withstand Sultān Bahādur's army in the field, and his defeat would be sufficient to cause the surrender of all the forts in the Dakan.

Bahādur advanced, but his objective was Burhān's army, encamped in the hilly country about ~~Bir~~, not Daulatābād. Amīr 'Alī Barīd inflicted two defeats on his army between Paithan and Bir, but he continued to advance, and Burhān retired from Bir to Parenda, and, being pursued thither, to Junnār. Bahādur then occupied AĦmadnagar, where he remained for forty days, and built, in this time, the large platform known as the *Kālā Chabūtra* or 'black platform.' Meanwhile, Burhān's army was engaged in cutting off Bahādur's supplies and it was when the army in AĦmadnagar had already begun to feel the pinch of hunger that his *amīrs* urged him to complete his conquest by reducing Daulatābād and he accordingly marched thither, and opened the siege. Burhān, who had obtained another contingent of 500 ~~men~~ from Ismā'īl, and Amīr 'Alī Barīd encamped in the hill above Daulatābād. See *ZW.*, i, 151.

It was now that Shaikh Ja'far was dismissed from the office of *vakil* and *pishā* and ~~Mulla~~ the Brāhman, perhaps a relation of Burhān, appointed in his place. See p. 38.

As all were sick of the siege, 'Imād-ul-Mulk's advice was generally approved, and Sultān Bahādur, by the advice of his *amīrs* and officers, abandoned the siege and turned his attention to the conquest of the district of Bīr.⁷⁰

'Imād-ul-Mulk then sent a message to Manjan Khān, saying that he had, by the exercise of no little ingenuity, succeeded in persuading the Gujarātīs to abandon the siege, and urging Manjan Khān to sally from the fortress as they departed, attack the rearguard, and plunder the baggage, in order that Sultān Bahādur might be convinced of the bravery of the Dakanīs and might abandon the attempt to conquer the Dakan. 'Imād-ul-Mulk also sent a message to Burhān NiẒām Shāh saying that love and friendship had always existed between them and that he was at one with Burhān NiẒām Shāh in the endeavour to drive the strangers forth from the Dakan, the rulers of which were, in fact, all of one family. He advised Burhān NiẒām Shāh to march, together with Malik Barīd, towards the Gujarātīs and to attack them, and promised that he could draw his army off from Sultān Bahādur's and attack the enemy in flank when the battle was at its height, so that the strangers would be overpowered.

When Sultān Bahādur marched from under the walls of Daulatābād, Manjan Khān, with a force from the fortress, fell upon the Gujarātīs and put very many of them to the sword; and this daring act created a great impression on Sultān Bahādur and his army.

When the news of Sultān Bahādur's march reached Burhān NiẒām Shāh, who was already apprized, by the letter which he had received and by the news of what had taken place at Daulatābād, of 'Alā-ud-dīn 'Imād Shāh's change of sides, he summoned Malik Barīd and all the *amīrs* and the officers of his army, and ordered them to assemble their troops. A very large army assembled, and the king marched with it to attack the army of the enemy. Burhān NiẒām Shāh placed Malik Barīd in command of the advanced guard and followed him with the main body of the army.

The armies met in the neighbourhood of Bīr, and Malik Barīd, with the advanced guard, fell at once on the Gujarātīs, and a fierce battle began to rage. Malik Barīd drove the advanced guard of the Gujarātīs back on their main body; and when he found that the main body under Burhān NiẒām Shāh had not arrived, he fell back and joined it, and the whole army then marched against Sultān Bahādur's army.

A fresh battle now began. Some divisions of the army of Gujarāt, which had advanced beyond the rest, could not withstand the attack of the Dakanīs and fled crabwise from the field, escaping sideways. One half of the Gujarātīs was thus put to flight, and of the Dakanīs, 'Alam Khān the elder, tasted martyrdom on this day. The battle continued until darkness put a stop to the fighting and the two armies retired to their camps.⁷¹

⁷⁰ Sayyid 'Alī has placed the campaign in the Bīr district after the siege of Daulatābād. This is not correct. The *amīrs* of Burhān and Amīr 'Alī Barīd descended from the hills on one occasion and attacked the army of Gujarāt. They gained an initial advantage, but on the arrival of reinforcements sent by Bahādur were defeated and driven back into the hills. They now opened secret negotiations with 'Alā-ud-dīn 'Imād Shāh of Berar and Muḥammad Shāh of Khāndesh. With the former, who already bitterly regretted having brought Bahādur to the Dakan, they had not much difficulty, and he readily agreed to change sides. He first sent large quantities of supplies into Daulatābād and then, leaving his camp standing, retired suddenly into Berar.

⁷¹ This is evidently a garbled account of the battle fought in the neighbourhood of Daulatābād, in which Burhān and Amīr 'Alī Barīd were driven back into the hills. 'Alam Khān the elder, who was killed, was probably Ahmad NiẒām Shāh's former candidate for the throne of Khāndesh.

It now began to dawn upon Sulṭân Bahâdur that 'Alâ-ud-dîn 'Imâd Shâh, who had constantly incited him to attempt the conquest of the Dakan by representing that the army of the Dakan was contemptible and of no account, had played him false, for he had seen what havoc the headlong valour of Malik Barîd and his small force had wrought among the brave *amîrs* of Gujarât and he bethought himself that if Malik Barîd alone could shew such bravery, the whole army of the Dakan under Burhân Nizâm Shâh would not be easily dealt with. He began, therefore, to repent of his expedition to the Dakan and thought of jaying hands on 'Imâd-ul-Mulk, but 'Imâd-ul-Mulk had anticipated this intention and had withdrawn himself and his army to the distance of one stage from Sulṭân Bahâdur's camp. He sent a message to Sulṭân Bahâdur, reminding him that he had formerly told him that if the two armies (that of Burhân Nizâm Shâh and that of Malik Barîd) united, matters would assume a very serious aspect, and that he now, knowing how affairs stood, had purposely withdrawn from Sulṭân Bahâdur's camp, for he was certain that his presence there could not fail to increase the resentment of the Dakanis against the invaders. He advised Sulṭân Bahâdur to retreat on Chânak Deo. Sulṭân Bahâdur had no alternative but to march, and when he reached Chânak Deo he heard that 'Imâd-ul-Mulk had retired to his own country. This news caused him much anxiety and he bitterly regretted that he had been deceived by 'Imâd-ul-Mulk's words and had been induced to invade the Dakan. He now resolved to return to his own country, and prepared to march from the Dakan.

When news of Sulṭân Bahâdur's movement reached Burhân Nizâm Shâh, he returned with Malik Barîd to his capital.⁷²

XXVIII.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE MEETING BETWEEN BURHÂN NIZÂM SHÂH AND SULTÂN BAHÂDUR OF GUJARÂT, BROUGHT ABOUT BY SHÂH TÂHIR AND MAHMUD SHÂH OF BURHÂNPUR.

It has already been mentioned that Sulṭân Ahmad Shâh Bahrî went to war with Sulṭân Mahmûd of Gujarât in defence of Mahmûd Shâh of Burhânpur, and that the presence of his army prevented any damage from being inflicted on the state of Burhânpur by the Gujarâtis,

Now, therefore, Mahmûd⁷³ Shâh of Burhânpur, who was related to Sulṭân Bahâdur was impelled by the gratitude which he owed to Ahmadnagar to make peace between Sulṭân Bahâdur and Burhân Nizâm Shâh, and to put an end to the strife and enmity which had been fomented and increased by 'Imâd-ul-Mulk. He therefore sent an envoy to Ahmadnagar and besought Burhân Nizâm Shâh to send a wise, faithful, and experienced ambassador to Sulṭân Bahâdur's capital for the purpose of strengthening the bonds of peace. In like manner he sent an envoy to Sulṭân Bahâdur, imploring him to terminate the dispute and to open negotiations for peace.

⁷² This is a very imperfect account of the circumstances in which Bahâdur withdrew from the Dakan. His situation there gave him some cause for anxiety. One ally, 'Alâ-ud-dîn 'Imâd Shâh, had deserted him; the other, Muḥammad of Khândesh, had nothing to gain by a continuance of hostilities and was anxious for peace; and the rainy season of 1527 was approaching, so that if he remained where he was, retreat would be difficult, if not impossible, and he would be exposed to a combined attack by the five kings of the Dakan. Muḥammad of Khândesh therefore opened negotiations for peace, and the terms on which it was granted were sufficiently humiliating to Burhân. Both he and 'Alâ-ud-dîn were to cause the *Khutbah* to be recited in their dominions in Bahâdur's name; Pâthri and Mâhûr were to be retroceded to Berar, and the elephants captured from 'Alâ-ud-dîn and Muḥammad were to be returned. Burhân, in order to rid himself of the invaders, caused the *Khutbah* to be recited once in Bahâdur's name, and Bahâdur retired; but he fulfilled none of the other conditions. Some time afterwards Muḥammad of Khândesh called upon him to return the elephants, and he returned those which he had taken from Muḥammad, but retained 'Alâ-ud-dîn's. Muḥammad, having got all that he wanted, made no further attempt to obtain satisfaction for 'Alâ-ud-dîn, but entered into an alliance with Burhân; and Pâthri, and, for a time, Mâhûr remained in the possession of Burhân.

⁷³ Mahmûd appears to be Sayyid 'Alî's stock name for the Khâns and kings of Khândesh. Having applied it to Dâ'ûd he now applies it to his successor Muḥammad. Firishta says that Shâh Tâhir was sent to Gujarât in A.H. 936 (A.D. 1529-30).

Burhān Niẓām Shāh, with the concurrence of Maḥmūd Shāh Fārūqī, sent Shāh Ṭāhir with numerous and valuable presents as an ambassador to Sulṭān Bahādur. Before Shāh Ṭāhir arrived, Sulṭān Bahādur had heard that he was the most learned man of the age, and that the emperor Humāyūn, when he wrote to him, used to seal his letter on the back of it, out of respect for him, and he therefore considered how he could fitly receive so learned a man who was so much honoured by the kings of the earth, for he feared that if he received him in a manner suitable to his eminence in learning, the honours paid to him might be regarded as honours paid to the ambassador of Burhān Niẓām Shāh; while if Shāh Ṭāhir's reception fell short of this, he might be suspected of not paying due respect to learning and excellence. At last he decided to receive Shāh Ṭāhir unceremoniously while walking in his garden.⁷⁴

After Shāh Ṭāhir had thus been honoured with an interview with Sulṭān Bahādur, he was treated with the highest honour and consideration, and, since Sulṭān Bahādur delighted in his company, he would not give him leave to depart, and thus Shāh Ṭāhir remained for three years, or according to another account, for one year, with Sulṭān Bahādur, and within this period Sulṭān Bahādur formed the design of conquering the country of Mālwa, and marched for Mālwa with a numerous army. Shāh Ṭāhir accompanied him. He besieged the fortress of Māndū, but the siege was prolonged and the Gujarātis lay surrounding the fortress, for nearly six months. At length Māndū was captured by Sulṭān Bahādur, and Shāh Ṭāhir then represented to the Sulṭān that he had been in attendance on him for along while and had been treated with every kindness, but that the object of his mission was not, as yet, accomplished. Sulṭān Bahādur asked him what that object was, and he replied that it was to arrange a meeting between him and Burhān Niẓām Shāh, in order that peace might be firmly established between them. Sulṭān Bahādur asked whether His Majesty Burhān Niẓām Shāh would indeed meet him, and Shāh Ṭāhir replied that he certainly would, since that had been the object of the embassy. Sulṭān Bahādur asked where he would meet him, and Shāh Ṭāhir replied that he would come as far as Burhānpūr. Sulṭān Bahādur asked Shāh Ṭāhir to go at once to Burhān Niẓām Shāh and conduct him to Burhānpūr, promising to proceed thither in a leisurely manner, hunting by the way, so as to meet Burhān Niẓām Shāh there.⁷⁵

Shāh Ṭāhir at once set out for Ahmadnagar and, on his arrival, told Burhān Niẓām Shāh that Sulṭān Bahādur had promised to meet him in Burhānpūr. Some of the courtiers, who were jealous of Shāh Ṭāhir, discredited this statement and said that it was not likely that Sulṭān Bahādur would come to Burhānpūr to meet Burhān Niẓām Shāh. Shāh Ṭāhir, however, insisted that his information was correct and urged Burhān Niẓām Shāh to go to Burhānpūr. Burhān Niẓām Shāh consented, and proceeded to Burhānpūr, while

⁷⁴ This is not quite a correct account of Shāh Ṭāhir's reception. At first Bahādur refused to receive any envoy from Burhān Niẓām Shāh on the ground that the latter had not fulfilled the terms of the treaty of Daulatābād, but had had the *Khubāh* recited only once in the name of the king of Gujarāt and had then reverted to the practice of having it recited in his own name. Muḥammad of *Khāndesh* made excuses for Burhān, saying that he was bound to consider the susceptibilities of the other kings of the Dakan, and Bahādur then consented to receive Shāh Ṭāhir, but showed him scant consideration. It was not until *Khudāvand Khān* of Gujarāt had warmly eulogized Shāh Ṭāhir's piety, learning, and personal merits that Bahādur received him with respect.

⁷⁵ Firishta says that the meeting between Sulṭān Bahādur and Burhān Niẓām Shāh took place after the capture of Māndū by Sulṭān Bahādur and at the end of the rainy season. Māndū fell on March 28, 1531, and the two kings met, therefore, in October, 1531. F. ii. 208, 431, 530. 'Muḥammad' should be read for 'Maḥmūd' throughout this section.

du'ā kartī hai ?''⁷⁸ Sultān Bahādur was much pleased with Maulānā Pīr Muḥammad's answer and rewarded him by giving him two horses, an Arab and a Turkī. Burhān NiẒām Shāh then obtained leave to depart and returned to his own camp, but Shāh Ṭāhir stayed in the assembly for a short time after his departure and Sultān Bahādur said to him, "I dismissed Burhān NiẒām Shāh thus early lest fear should enter his mind." Shāh Ṭāhir replied, "His Majesty has never in any juncture known fear, nor does he know it now, but out of respect to the royal assembly he would not speak unceremoniously." Sultān Bahādur then asked whether His Majesty NiẒām Shāh could play polo, and Shāh Ṭāhir replied that whenever Sultān Bahādur took a fancy to see a game of polo, he would see that Burhān NiẒām Shāh excelled all the soldiers and horsemen of the world in soldierly accomplishments, horsemanship, and boldness. Sultān Bahādur then asked him to tell Burhān NiẒām Shāh that he would go out early the next morning to amuse himself by watching some polo and that Burhān NiẒām Shāh should also come out and watch the play of the valiant men. Shāh Ṭāhir then took his leave, hastened to the presence of Burhān NiẒām Shāh, and told him what had passed between himself and Sultān Bahādur, saying that Sultān Bahādur's object was to make trial of him, and advising him to disregard etiquette and to join manfully in the game and to do his best.

Early the next morning Sultān Bahādur rode out towards the open plain, and Burhān NiẒām Shāh also, mounting his horse, rode out with a band of his warriors towards the plain. Here the two parties met and played polo. Burhān NiẒām Shāh distinguished himself above all others in the game, so that all spectators applauded, and Sultān Bahādur and all his warriors were astonished at his quickness, dexterity and boldness, and dash, and, withdrawing from the game, watched him in admiration, praising and applauding him loudly.

When the game was over, both Sultān Bahādur and Burhān NiẒām Shāh went to the former's camp and Sultān Bahādur ordered his attendants to bring forth abundant gifts, cash, goods, horses, elephants, and whatever else might be worthy of the acceptance of Burhān NiẒām Shāh. These were produced by Sultān Bahādur's order and were presented to Burhān NiẒām Shāh, who then asked for leave to depart. Sultān Bahādur embraced him and gave him permission to depart, and he returned to his own camp. After his departure, Sultān Bahādur summoned his singers and ordered them to go to Burhān NiẒām Shāh's camp and delight him with their singing, and also to make trial of him and see whether he was of ready understanding and quick in the uptake. They obeyed the order, and when they sang, Burhān NiẒām Shāh put questions to them and made apt interpolations in each couplet and each song that they sang; and the singers were astonished at the quickness of his wit and loudly praised him. He then gave them numerous presents and dismissed them. When the singers returned to Sultān Bahādur's camp, they were loud in their praises of the ready wit and the generosity of Burhān NiẒām Shāh. So much did they dilate on them that some of the courtiers rebuked them and told them that it was both disrespectful and foolish to praise another than their master so extravagantly for wit and generosity. But Sultān Bahādur acted justly and said that the singers spoke the truth, and that Burhān NiẒām Shāh excelled him both in understanding and generosity, for his own language was much the same as that of Gwalior, in which the poetry was written, while the language of the Dakan did

⁷⁸ These two questions mean. "What is the meaning of your *bazān*?" and "What prayer does your *anāwalī* make?" *Bazān* seems to have been a common Dakanī corruption of *ba'd az ān*, 'after that,' but I have not been able to ascertain the meaning of *anāwalī*, which is probably some Gujarātī word or Gujarātī corruption of an Arabic or Persian word.

not so much resemble that of Gwalior, and that his own treasure far exceeded that of Burhân Nizâm Shâh. Therefore, he argued, Burhân Nizâm Shâh's understanding every song and every couplet as it was sung, and his generosity in giving the great gifts which he had bestowed, though his treasure was but small, were sufficient proofs of the quick understanding and great generosity of that great and most generous king.

In truth, in respect of these two matters, the Sultân said no more than justice and truth demanded, and was guilty of no distortion or exaggeration.

Some historians have related that the meeting of these two kings took place in a village near Daulatâbâd and without the intervention of Shâh Tâhir, but by the advice and intervention of Khvâja Ibrâhîm, the counsellor, and Sâbâjî, and that these two men were rewarded for the service which they had performed, the former with the title of Latîf Khân, and the latter with that of Partâb Râi; but the story told here at length is the correct account.⁷⁹

After this meeting Burhân Nizâm Shâh returned to his capital, and Sultân Bahâdur returned to Gujarât.⁸⁰

XXIX.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE IMÂMÎ RELIGION BY BURHÂN NIZÂM SHÂH IN THE DAKAN, IN PLACE OF THE ANAFÎ RELIGION.

It has already been mentioned that Burhân Nizâm Shâh spent much of his time with doctors of the faith of Muḥammad and devoted all his attention to acquiring learning and spiritual excellence. He occupied himself in listening to the discussion of religious questions, and to the adducing of proofs, in order that he might acquire knowledge of God and an insight into the holy law, and he was ever a seeker after the straight way, which is the means of pleasing God.

His object in thus associating with learned doctors of the faith was discrimination between truth and error, in order that the rust of doubt might be seoured from the mirror

⁷⁹ Sayyid 'Alî seems to be confounding two meetings, for it is highly probable that there was a meeting between Bahâdur and Burhân before the former retired from the Dakan, and there seems no doubt that this meeting took place at Burhân-pûr after Bahâdur's conquest of Mâlwa. Firîshat says that Bahâdur's object in conciliating Burhân was to obtain him as an ally in a scheme which he had formed of wresting the empire of Dihlî from the Taimurids; and this is highly probable. Bahâdur had recently added the kingdom of Mâlwa to that of Gujarât, Muḥammad of Khândosh was his vassal, and it would have been strange if ambitious schemes had not been generated by his success. With Barid and Alâ-ud-dîn of Berar as his allies, he might not unreasonably hope for the success of such a scheme as he had formed, but a stronger than he was in the field, and Burhân was not won over. Firîshat says that he even instigated Humâyûn to attack Gujarât.

⁸⁰ Sayyid 'Alî omits all mention of the events which followed Burhân's return to his capital, probably because they reflect little lustre on Burhân's reputation. Amir 'Alî Barîd had promised to send Kalyânî and Kandhâr to Ismâ'il 'Adil Shâh, but had failed to keep his promise. Ismâ'il, accordingly, prepared, in 1531-32, to capture the two fortresses by force of arms, Burhân, on Amir 'Alî Barîd's request, wrote to Ismâ'il asking him to desist, and Ismâ'il replied, with some warmth, that he had no intention of doing so when Burhân had taken Mâhûr. He added that he was going to inspect his frontiers, and that he would be haughty and menacing tone; and when Ismâ'il next wrote, he desired to know the result of Burhân's inspection of tone. Was it the second-hand umbrella and tents of the kings of Mâlwa, or was it the title of Shâh by which Bahâdur had addressed him? If so, Burhân would be prepared to conclude with a challenge.

Burhân and Amir 'Alî Barîd marched on Naldurg with an army of 12,000 men, and were defeated by Ismâ'il, who had but 12,000. Three thousand of Burhân's army were slain in the field. In the following year (1532-33) Burhân and Ismâ'il concluded a treaty, in accordance with the terms of which, Ismâ'il was to remain the ruler of Golconda and Burhân that of Berar; but Ismâ'il died in 1544 and was succeeded by his son, Ismâ'il II. F. ii, 44, 45, 46, 211.

of his heart, which was a repository of divine mysteries. He did not, however, attain this object from association with the learned men who were in the service of the court. On the contrary, the discrepaneies between their words and their deeds confused his mind and threw him into great perplexity. Since those learned men had no love for, nor devotion to, the king of saints ('Alî) who is in Madinah the banner of God's prophet and the guide to the path of true guidance, their learning was not profitable to the faith, nor did it raise the pinnacle of assurance, nay rather, in its avoidance of setting forth the truth it was worse than compound ignorance, for their object in following that learning was not the discovery of the way of orthodoxy, and consequently their learning led them many stages away from what should have been their object.

When Shâh Tâhir gained admission to the royal court, he joined in the discussions on religion and the sacred law, in spite of the fact that he was compelled by circumstances to perform *taqiyyah*⁸¹ and to conceal his true faith, but he would cite Shi'ah authorities and attach all the importance to them that he could. Burhân Nizâm Shâh, by means of his natural acumen, suspected that the faith of Shâh Tâhir was not that of the folk of *Sunnat* and *Jamâat*,⁸² and by means of God's guidance began to realize that the religion of that true Sayyid was the true one and acceptable to the prophet of the 'Arabs.' The king therefore called Shâh Tâhir to himself in private and straitly questioned him on all religious questions, and Shâh Tâhir returned such answers as left no doubt in the king's mind as to his religious belief. The king then asked him straight out what his religion was, and Shâh Tâhir at first observed *taqiyyah* and dissimulated, but the king said that it was perfectly evident that he was a Shi'ah and asked what it profited him to conceal the fact. Shâh Tâhir said that he could not reveal a matter, the concealment of which had (in the circumstances in which he was placed) been decreed by the king of the saints, and that on this matter he could not make paper the confidant of the pen. The king then solemnly swore that his question was in no way connected with bigotry or obstinate preference for one form of religion, but was prompted by a sincere desire to discover the way of truth and release from ignorance and strife. He bade Shâh Tâhir to be in no way anxious, as nothing could be said or done that might be in any way distasteful to him. He said that he had long been perplexed by the differences between sects, and that none of the doctors at court had been able to free his mind from his doubts. When Shâh Tâhir had received these assurances he spoke more freely. He said that inquiry after the truth was incumbent on all men, and on none more than kings, who were the shadow of God on earth. On the king's urging him to proceed, Shâh Tâhir revealed all that was in his mind. He reminded the king that Muḥammad had said that among all the numerous sects of Islâm one should follow the way of salvation and the rest the way of damnation. He then plied the king with arguments to prove that the Shi'ah religion was the way of salvation. He told him that 'Alî bin Abî Tâlib was the undoubted successor of the prophet, and was followed by his son, Ḥasan, who was succeeded by his brother, Ḥusain, and that they were succeeded by 'Alî Zainu-l-Âbidîn, and that their descendants followed in succession, the last of them being the lord of the age, Abû-l-Qâsim

⁸¹ A practice permissible according to the tenets of the Shi'ah sect of Muslims. It consists in concealing one's religious belief in order to avoid persecution or molestation and may, with the same object, extend even to reviling it.

⁸² "The traditional law and the congregation," in the following of which, orthodoxy, according to Muslims of the *Sunni* sect, consists.

Muḥammad bin Al-Ḥasan al-Mahdī. He gave the king their names, 'Alī, Ḥasan, Ḥusain Zain-ul-'Abīdīn, Bâqir, Ja'far, Mûsâ Kâzīm, 'Alī Musâ Rizâ, Taqī, Naqī, Ḥasan Askarī, Abû-l-Qâsim, al Mahdī,⁸³ who is still living. He also set forth the absurdity of the belief of the Sunnīs. The king then praised God for having decreed that the truth should be unfolded to him, and God appointed Muṣṭafâ, Murtaẓâ, and the Imâms to reveal to him the true faith.

XXX.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE EVENT WHICH CONFIRMED THE KING IN THE TRUE RELIGION
OF THE TWELVE IMÂMS.

When Shâh Tâhir left the king's presence and went to his bedchamber, the king also retired to rest, and saw a vision. He dreamt that he saw Muḥammad with 'Alī on his right hand and Ḥasan and Ḥusain on his left with Muḥammad Bâqir, while Shâh Tâhir was standing at a little distance from them, prepared to execute their orders. When Burhân NiẒâm Shâh realized in whose presence he was, he made his obeisance, and Muḥammad Bâqir said to him, "The prophet commands that you should follow the guidance of Shâh Tâhir and lay hold on the true faith of love for the prophet's descendants." The king, who was highly pleased at being addressed, bowed his head to the ground in acquiescence, and opened his lips to praise the Imâm. Just then the morning broke, and the king awoke, full of joy, and praised God for the vision which he had seen. He then sent for Shâh Tâhir and began to relate to him the dream which he had seen. It so happened that Shâh Tâhir had seen the same dream and had been ordered by the prophet, through the mouth of Muḥammad Bâqir, the Imâm, to guide Burhân NiẒâm Shâh into the path of truth. He stopped the king's narrative and first told his own, thereby convincing the king of the genuineness of his vision. The king then told his story, and Shâh Tâhir said that he ought to be surely convinced of the truth of the Shī'ah religion and ought to regard the hatred of the opponents of the prophet's descendants as a religious duty. The king admitted that all his doubts were removed and that he was a firm believer in the truth of the Shī'ah religion and hater of all its opponents, but said that he could not proceed further in the matter without Shâh Tâhir's help, which would be necessary for the convincing of the doctors of the law about the court of the truth of that faith and for the removal of their opposition and also for leading the people generally into the way of truth. This was, indeed, proof of the king's justice, that he would not proceed violently against such as had not a knowledge of the truth. Shâh Tâhir undertook the duty of arguing with the doctors of the faith and of reducing them to silence.

⁸³ These are the names of the "Twelve Imâms" of the Shī'ah sect. The fundamental difference between the Sunnīs and the Shī'ahs is well known. The former maintain that the succession to Muḥammad as God's vicerent on earth was properly determined by the popular choice, and that the first four Caliphs, Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmân, and 'Alī, who were elected, were Muḥammad's lawful successors. The Shī'ahs maintain that the succession depended on natural descent from Muḥammad through his daughter Fâtimah, who was married to his cousin 'Alī, that Muḥammad in his life time designated 'Alī as his successor, and that 'Umar, who was present on the occasion and acknowledged 'Alī's right to succeed, concealed the fact after Muḥammad's death. They revile the first three Caliphs as usurpers and maintain that 'Alī's right to the succession depended not upon his election after the death of 'Uthmân, but was inherent in him, so that he should have succeeded on Muḥammad's death. The Imâms, for the Shī'ahs do not use the word Caliph (*Khalifah*) are the lineal descendants of 'Alī and Fâtimah, and the last, al-Mahdī, is supposed to be living, but concealed.

Muṣṭafâ is an epithet of Muḥammad and Murtaẓâ of 'Alī. Muḥammad Bâqir, mentioned in the next section, is the fifth Imâm.

XXXI.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE CONTROVERSY OF SHÂH TÂHIR WITH THE SUNNÎ DOCTORS,
AND OF HIS VICTORY OVER THEM.

By the king's command an assembly, which the king graced with his presence, was convoked, and before that assembly Shâh Tâhir conducted a controversy with the following Sunnî doctors :—

(1) Maulânâ Pir Muḥammad, (2) Shaikh Ja'far, (3) Maulânâ Abdul Awwal, (4) Qâzî Muḥammad Nâyāṭa entitled Afzal K̲l̲ān, (5) Qâzî Zain-ul-'Abidîn, camp Qâzî, (6) Sayyid Ishâq, the librarian, (7) Qazî Wilâyat Ambar (Abtar).

Shâh Tâhir began by quoting the *Aḥādīth* to the effect that of the seventy-three sects of Islâm, one was in the way of salvation and the rest in the way of damnation. He then twitted the Sunnīs successfully with the differences between their four sects and continued his arguments at great length, basing all his arguments on *Aḥādīth* accepted by the Sunnīs or passages from Sunnî books, observing that it was useless to cite authorities not accepted by both parties. He concluded this portion of his argument by challenging his opponents to shew that he had misquoted anything or misplaced any quotation, calling for the books, the chief of which was the *Ṣaḥīḥ-i-Bukḥārī*,⁸⁴ from the royal library, and promising to desist for ever from upholding the Shī'ah faith if it could be shewn that the passages quoted by him were not in the books. Qâzî Zain-ul-'Abidîn, however, forbade Sayyid Ishâq, the librarian, to produce the books. It so happened that the king had brought with him a copy of the most important, the *Ṣaḥīḥ-i-Bukḥārī*, which was produced, and the passages quoted by Shâh Tâhir were found therein, to the shame of the Sunnî doctors, who then shifted their ground. The argument continued; and Shâh Tâhir having followed the Sunnīs over their change of ground, continued his argument and again beat his opponents on their own ground. They were confuted and, as they could not meet his arguments, had recourse to abuse. Shâh Tâhir then appealed to the king to say whether he had not utterly confuted his opponents, and whether their taking refuge in abuse were not an admission of defeat. The king replied that the confutation of the Sunnīs was as clear to him as the sun in the heavens and that all who had ever contended that 'Alī was not the rightful immediate successor of the prophet were worthy of being cursed, and furthermore that the Ināms after 'Alī were the infallible and only guides to the truth.

When the king announced his acceptance of the Shī'ah religion, the Sunnî doctors cried out with one accord that it was unworthy of his royal dignity that he should, on the unfounded statements of anybody, abandon the faith of his fathers and the religion which was accepted by so many famous kings, and should accept the arguments of any unauthoritative stranger. When the king heard what they had said, his wrath burst into flame, and he said,

⁸⁴ The *Ṣaḥīḥ-ul-Bukḥārī* is the great collection of *aḥādīth*, the sayings or 'traditions' of Muḥammad, accepted as authentic by the Sunnīs. The four sects of the Sunnīs here mentioned are the Ḥanafīs, the Ḥanbalīs, the Shâfi'īs, and the Malikīs, the followers of the four great doctors of the law, whom the Sunnīs call the four Imāms, Abū Ḥanīfah, Ibn Ḥanbal, ash-Shâfi'ī, and Mālik. The differences between these sects are unimportant and each regards all the others as orthodox.

"O lords of error and insolence. Know that we, in our search after the truth, have set aside all obstinacy and bigotry and have followed the way of truth in sincerity and faith, and but now, by way of proof, we decreed that Shâh Tâhir should hold a controversy with you in order that you might be convinced, and that the people might not say that we have without good grounds and sufficient proof abandoned the faith of our fathers. Now that you have been overcome in argument and are in that respect helpless, you take up a new line, and say that it is not right to forsake the faith of our fathers. But this is unreasonable, and is merely the speech of fools whom God has refuted in the *Qur'ân*. The excuse that a particular religion was the religion of one's ancestors will never be accepted on the day of resurrection. Now, if you wish for prosperity in this world and salvation in the next, abandon your errors and accept the true Shi'ah faith, or the punishment that we shall decree for you will empty the cage of the birds of your souls, and the sword of our wrath shall remove your heads to a distance from your bodies."

Notwithstanding the king's efforts to guide these men into the way of truth, fate had decreed that they should obstinately adhere to error, and Qâzi Abrar, the most obstinate bigot of all, was beheaded. Maulânâ 'Abdul Awwal was punished with torture and with every species of affliction and was compelled to eat the flesh of dogs, and the others were punished in various ways. The power of the sword in a short time established the true religion of the infallible Imâms in the remotest part of the country of the Dakan, and love for the family of the prophet was established in the hearts of both enemies and friends, so that the other Sultâns of that land, that is to say 'Âdil Shâh and Quṭb Shâh, followed the king's example and accepted the Shi'ah religion.⁸⁵ Thus the Shi'ah religion became the religion of the land; the titles of the Imâms were heard from the pulpits, and adversaries of the faith were rooted out from the land. After this the king's power and prosperity grew and increased.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Sayyid 'Alî is most inaccurate here. Sultân Qulî Quṭb Shâh and all his successors in Golconda were Shi'ahs. Yûsuf 'Âdil Shâh, founder of the Bijâpûr dynasty, was so zealous a Shi'ah that he nearly lost his throne by prematurely establishing that religion in his kingdom. His son Ismâ'il was also a Shi'ah, but Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh I, Ismâ'il's son, who had lately succeeded to the throne of Bijâpûr, was a Sunnî, but all other kings of this dynasty were Shi'ahs. Thus, after the conversion of Burhân, the three principal dynasties in the Dakan, those of Ahmadnagar, Bijâpûr, and Golconda were Shi'ahs, while the rulers of the two small kingdoms of Berar and Bidar were Sunnis. But Berar was annexed by Ahmadnagar in 1574 and Bidar by Bijâpûr in 1619, so that the Shi'ah faith became the established religion of the Dakan. This furnished the bigot Aurangzib with a scarcely needed pretext for the annexation of Bijâpûr and Golconda.

⁸⁶ Firishtâ's account of Burhân's conversion to the Shi'ah religion is similar to this but contains some additional particulars. According to him, Shâh Tâhir first took advantage of a dangerous illness of 'Abdul Qâdir, Burhân's favourite son, to broach the subject of the Shi'ah religion, suggesting that if the king accepted it, the prince would recover. It was while watching by his son's bed that the King fell asleep and dreamed a dream, in which he saw, according to Firishtâ, Muḥammad surrounded by the twelve Imâms. Muḥammad promised him that his son should recover and bade him follow the teaching of Shâh Tâhir. The king's conversion followed as a matter of course. Firishtâ, who was a Sunnî, does not relate the story of the conversion so sympathetically as the Shi'ah, Sayyid 'Alî.

XXXII—AN ACCOUNT OF THE RISING OF MAULÂNÂ PIR MUHAMMAD, AND OF WHAT FOLLOWED.

As the king of the race of Bahman had before this, from the great kindness which he had towards Maulânâ Pir Muḥammad, sworn that he would never on any account, attempt to injure that foolish man, the Maulânâ escaped the punishment which overtook most of the Sunnî doctors. He now came forth with 3,000 horse, ready for war, and encamped before Ahmadnagar, his bigotry having led him to entertain the design of dethroning the king. He therefore entered into an undertaking with the officers of his army to take 2,000 cavalry soldiers into the king's court, and seize and imprison the king, and then to raise the young prince, Mirân 'Abdul Qâdir, to the throne, and to crown him king, while the remaining thousand horse surrounded the dwelling of Shâh Tâhir and put him and his family and followers to death. It is, however, useless to plot against what has been decreed by God, or to attempt to overthrow a king He has chosen.⁸⁷

Husain Abdûl Rûmî, who was a sincere lover of the family of the prophet and was the king's master of the horse, discovered the plot and informed Shâh Tâhir of it. He at once hastened to the king and informed him of the conspiracy, who asked him for his advice in the matter. Shâh Tâhir said that there was no remedy but the sword, but the king told him of the promise which he had given to Maulânâ Pir Muḥammad. Shâh Tâhir said that it was necessary that the rebel should at least be imprisoned and the king summoned Pir Muḥammad and ordered Zâbit Khân, *sarpardadar*, to arrest him when he appeared. Maulânâ Pir Muḥammad was afterwards confined, under the charge of some trusted officers, in the fortress of Pâli,⁸⁸ and the rebellion, owing to the imprisonment of its chief soon subsided.

Maulânâ Pir Muḥammad remained imprisoned in the fortress of Pâli for about a year, when the king, having gone to war with Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, gained a victory over him in the neighbourhood of Kutal Hatiyâli and Shâh Tâhir advised him, in gratitude for his victory, to set all prisoners free. The king followed this advice and the prisoners were released, among them Maulânâ Pir Muḥammad, who was permitted to attend at court, but was not restored to his former rank. Shortly after this Maulânâ Pir Muḥammad died.

XXXIII—AN ACCOUNT OF THE APPOINTMENT OF SHÂH TÂHIR AS VAKÎL, AND MINISTER.

The king considered that it would be to the interest of the kingdom to appoint Shâh Tâhir minister, and he therefore honoured Shâh Tâhir by going to his house to make this proposal to him. On entering the house, Shâh Tâhir led him to a private room where they could talk apart, and the king then asked him to undertake the whole administration of the state. Shâh Tâhir at first declined the honour, but afterwards, seeing that the king had set his heart on his having the appointment, accepted it.

The king then proceeded to complain of the perpetual quarrels of the Sultâns of the Dakan, saying that they were always plotting against one another and quarrelling among themselves, whence it happened that both their countries and their subjects were ruined, and a land which was by nature an earthly paradise, was being depopulated, while both the armies and the people were suffering.

⁸⁷ According to Firishta, Pir Muḥammad's rising was much more serious than it is here represented to be, and he had at his disposal 12,000 horse ready to fight in defence of the Sunnî religion while the king had only 400 horse, 1,000 foot and five elephants. Most of the army, however, joined the king when summoned to return to their allegiance, and Pir Muḥammad fled to his house accompanied by only a small force.

⁸⁸ A fort in the Western Ghâts, about twenty miles east of Chaul.

Historians say that Burhân Nizâm Shâh, in the early days of his reign, observed moderation in his giving of alms and free grants and avoided excessive expenditure. As this policy was not in accordance with the views of those who desired to subsist on alms and free grants, they accused the king of stinginess, and Shâh Tâhir had long been considering how he could represent this matter to the king without giving offence. He now seized the opportunity, and said to the king that God created generous and open-handed rulers for the relief of the poor, the indigent, and the oppressed, and that generosity was wise policy, as it pleased those who had benefited by it and prevented them, by means of the fear of losing what they had gained, from plotting against the state, while it aroused hope in others; while all loved a generous ruler. Charity, he said, covered the multitude of sins.

When Shâh Tâhir had made an end of speaking, the king answered him not a word, but went off to the *Bâgh-i-Kârîz* and remained there for three days, during which time none of the *amîrs* nor officers of state saw him. At the end of three days he sent for Shâh Tâhir and told him that he had for three days been fighting with his own inclinations, and had at last subdued them. He had decided, he said, never to depart from the advice of Shâh Tâhir, and to place in his hands the whole administration of the country and the government of the subjects, giving him complete control over all the treasure. Shâh Tâhir then advised the king to have all alms distributed to the poor and to religious mendicants through the princes, as by this means the princes would be taught to be generous, and would also become subjects of love to the people, while Shâh Tâhir himself would not be exposed to the criticism of the people.

The king followed this advice and caused the princes to distribute alms. Of the princes, Mirân Husain and Mirân 'Abdul Qâdir were more generous than the rest. Mirân Husain's generosity was such that when he had distributed all of his own share of the alms, he would seize his brother's share and distribute that too, and in this way he so endeared himself to the army and the people, that the crown ultimately came to him. The result of the king's liberality was that peace, prosperity and plenty reigned throughout the land, and the strong no longer oppressed the weak. Deserving men came from all countries and profited by the king's bounty. Every year shiploads of treasure, carpets, lamps, and other offerings were sent to Makkah, Madinah, Najaf, Karbalâ, and other shrines of the infallible Imâms, and the gates of joy were opened before all descendants of the prophet.

One of the results of this policy was that the enemies of the state were everywhere overthrown and rendered powerless while the king's officers were everywhere gladdened by victory, and the glory and prosperity of the kingdom increased day by day. The giving of effect to Shâh Tâhir's advice had its rewards from God, for many Sayyids of high degree and religious leaders of great fame came to the Dakân and met with the fulfilments of their hopes from the king's bounty. The chief of them was Amîr Sayyid 'Ali Shadgham (*sic*) Husainî Madanî who was among the most noble among the descendants of Husain in Madinah and was distinguished by pre-eminence in learning. When he arrived at Ahmadnagar the king sent one of his courtiers to inquire what was the object of his coming, and the Sayyid replied that he was so desirous of performing a pilgrimage to his grandfather's tomb that he wished to recite the evening prayer at the head of Mustafâ's grave. The king was much affected by this speech and gave the Sayyid 12,000 *hîns*.⁸⁹ He also bestowed on his son, Sayyid Hasan, in marriage, one of his daughters who, as she had been born at the time when the

⁸⁹ A gold coin, worth four rupees or eight shillings when the rupee was worth two shillings.

king gained one of his famous victories, was named Fath Shāh Begam. Fath Shāh Begam performed the pilgrimage with her husband, but when the latter wished to return to the Dakan, she refused to accompany him, even to her own country, saying that she was not the woman to leave the prophet's tomb for the sake of worldly advantage. At length she died there and was buried near Muḥammad's tomb. After her death, Sayyid Ḥasan came again to the Dakan, and d'ed and was buried in Junnār.

Another Sayyid who came to the Dakan was Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusainī, Madanī Wuhādī, who was received with honour both by Shāh Ṭāhir and by the king. Sayyid Muḥammad, having gained his object, returned to 'Irāq, and there made a report to Shāh Ṭahmāsb, son of Shāh Ismā'il Ṣafavī, of all that he had seen and heard of Burhān Nizām Shāh of his attachment to the Shi'ah faith, and of the controversy with the Sunni doctors. This report led to the opening of friendly communications, fostered by Shāh Ṭāhir, and to the bestowal of many favours by Shāh Ṭahmāsb on Burhān Nizām Shāh, between whom and Shāh Ṭahmāsb letters constantly passed. Among these communications was a *farmān* dated in the month of Muḥarram, A.H. 949 (April-May 1542) addressed to Shah Ṭāhir, which, when it was read, infused joy into the hearts of all loyal friends, and grief into the souls of all erring enemies (of the Shi'ahs).

Shāh Ṭāhir showed this *farmān* to the king and represented that it would be advisable to send a reply thereto, by means of an ambassador worthy of the task, but preferably by the hands of one of the princes, in order that the bonds of friendship with the Court of Persia might be more tightly drawn. The king approved of this advice and selected Shāh Ḥaidar, the most learned and accomplished of his sons, as his ambassador to Persia. The prince bore a letter⁹⁰ to the Shāh of Persia, and when he reached the Persian court and paid his respects to the Shāh, he was received with great honour and special favour and became one of the Shāh's most intimate courtiers, and devoted all his endeavours to promoting friendship between the Ṣafavī and Nizām Shāhi families, the results of which may be seen in the correspondence which passed between the two kings, for when the Sayyid Mir Nizām-ud-dīn Kḥair Shāh came from the Persian court to India and waited on Burhān Nizām Shāh, he brought a *farmān*⁹¹ from the Shāh of Persia. The *farmān* was dated Rabi I, A.H. 954 (April-May 1547).

About this time Mihtar Jamāl arrived from Persia with another communication from the Shāh, but after his departure from Persia, was found to have been guilty of some unfitting words and deeds, and some officers were sent after him to arrest him, but he, becoming ware of this, made off before their arrival, and having reached one of the ports, embarked on a ship and thus escaped from danger. Burhān Nizām Shāh then wrote an answer to the letter which Mihtar Jamāl had brought, and asked, among other things, that a body of troops might be sent from Persia to the Dakan to help him against his enemies.

XXXIV—AN ACCOUNT OF THE KING'S EXPEDITION TO MURHĪR, IN ORDER TO CONQUER IT, AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE EXPEDITION TO, AND CAPTURE OF, THE FORTRESS OF GĀLNA.

As the king was ever desirous of exalting the banner of Islam and of uprooting unbelief, he now determined to capture the fortress of Gālna,⁹² which is one of the famous fortresses of the land of Hind, and issituated in the country of Rāja Baharjī,⁹³

⁹⁰ Sayyid 'Ali reproduces this letter. I have not translated it. It is very long, very fulsome, and contains nothing of historical interest.

⁹¹ This *farmān* also is reproduced. I have not translated it, for the reasons given in the preceding note.

⁹² A fort situated in 20° 46' N. and 74° 32' E. It is built on a circular detached hill 2316 feet above sea-level and 800 feet above the surrounding plain.

⁹³ This was the honorific title adopted by the Rāthor rajas of Baglāna, a hilly tract now represented by the Bāglān and Kālvān tālukas of the Nāsik district of the Bombay Presidency.

which lies between the kingdom of Ahmadnagar and the country of Nandurbār⁹⁴ and Sultānpūr. He therefore marched against that fortress and laid siege to it. The infidels who garrisoned the fort, made some attempt at defending it, although they had lost heart at the sight of the royal army, but their schemes were like the schemes of a fox against a raging tiger. They, therefore, soon came forth and humbled themselves before the king who had pity on them and granted them their lives, but destroyed all their temples and dwellings, and built mosques where idol-fanes had stood. Large quantities of plunder were seized by the victorious army and the king, having appointed one of his great *amīrs* to the command of the fortress, returned to his capital in triumph.

At this time the king determined to capture the fortress of Murhīr,⁹⁵ which is situated in the borders of Gujarāt and the Dakan, and was then held by an infidel named Bhīrdarra. He therefore assembled a very numerous army and marched on that fortress, which was second only to Khaibar in strength.

When the army reached Murhīr they at once attacked the fortress and drove the garrison from the outer fort into the inner, slaying many of them. They then besieged the inner fort and made several attempts to carry it by escalade, slaying many of the garrison at each attempt.

When Bhīrdarra perceived that he could not long withstand the royal army he appealed to Sultān Bahādur of Gujarāt for help. Sultān Bahādur wrote to Burhān Nizām Shāh, informing him that Bhīrdarra was a vassal of Gujarāt, and requesting him not to proceed to extremities against him. Burhān Nizām Shāh graciously acceded to Sultān Bahādur's request and returned towards his capital.

XXXV—AN ACCOUNT OF THE CAPTURE OF THE FORTRESS OF PARENDA.

While Burhān Nizām Shāh was returning from Murhīr towards Ahmadnagar, Ratan Khān, brother of Makhdūm Khvāja Jahān⁹⁶ (Dakani), guided by God's grace, sought refuge at the foot of the king's throne and complained of his brother's cruelty to him. The king encouraged Ratan Khān to hope that his wrongs would be righted and marched to capture Parendā.⁹⁷

When Makhdūm Khvāja Jahān heard that Burhān Nizām Shāh was marching against him, he realized that he could not hope to withstand him, and vacated Parendā and fled to Bijāpūr. Burhān Nizām Shāh placed a garrison of his own in Parendā and returned to Ahmadnagar.

'Ismā'il 'Adil Shāh resolved to assist Makhdūm Khvāja Jahān and sent some troops with him to Parendā, with orders to capture it and to hand it over to him.

⁹⁴ Nandurbār town is situated in 21°22' N. and 74°14' E. The district of which it was the capital was always a bone of contention between the three Muhammadan states of Gujarāt, Mālwa, and Khāndesh. Akbar assigned it to his *ṣūba* or province of Mālwa.

⁹⁵ This is the fortress of Mulher in Baglāna, situated in 20°46' N. and 74°4' E.

⁹⁶ This was Fakhr-ul-Mulk the Dakani, entitled Khvāja Jahān, to whose lot the fortress and district of Parendā fell at the partition of the Bahmanī dominions. He is often found in alliance with Ahmadnagar but did not regard himself as its vassal. At one time he cherished the design of declaring himself independent; but his neighbours of Ahmadnagar and Bijāpūr were too strong for him.

⁹⁷ This is evidently intended to be an account of the last war between Burhān Nizām Shāh I and 'Ismā'il 'Adil Shāh, and should have preceded the account of Burhān's conversion. It is incorrect, for that war began and ended with the total defeat of the army of Ahmadnagar near Naldurg and the flight of Burhān to his capital.

When it was reported to Bishin Nigri Shah that Malikam Argha Jahan was coming with an army of Bijapuris to massacre Pananda, he appointed Husan and Jahar, the sons of Iman Shahin Shan and Qutub-shah of the Nigri Behai forces to the command of an army to march to Pananda and meet Malikam Argha Jahan.

When the two armies met, a fiercely contested battle was fought and the army of Amurshingar was at last borne back. But the fortune of the day changed, and at length Malikam Argha Jahan and the Bijapuris were utterly defeated. All their camp baggage and other belongings fell into the hands of the victors, who pursued them with great slaughter. Malikam Argha Jahan escaped from the field with great difficulty, and since he could no longer, for very shame, show his face to the Tajik, he fled to Gujarat.

The army of Amurshingar returned after this victory to the capital, and Husan Shahin Jahan, who had covered himself with glory in the battle, was highly rewarded.

Malikam Argha Jahan, after spending a long time in affliction in Gujarat, made interest with some of the courtiers of Bishin Nigri Shah and received a safe conduct which enabled him to come to Amurshingar, and pay his respects to the king. He still further secured his position by giving one of his daughters in marriage to Aliah Shah Shan, after which marriage the king's confidence in Pananda, as will be related in its place.

XXXVI.—THE DEATH OF SHAHIN SHAN SHAH AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE EVENTS WHICH FOLLOWED THEREAFTER.

A.D. 1554-55. In this year and while these events were in progress, Imad Shah died⁵⁵ and Malik Shan, his eldest son, ascended the throne. But he had scarcely had time to taste the sweets of sovereignty when Asad Shah, who was the most powerful of the lords of Bijapur and was ill content that Malik should be king, with the assistance of the war of the lords and officers of state, deposed Malik, caused him to be blinded with a hot iron, and threw him into prison, and then raised his younger brother Abdullah to the throne. Asad Shan then made himself master of the Kingdom of Bijapur.

A.D. 1557-58. Meanwhile it became known that Ram Raj, viceroy of the King of Vijayanagar had rebelled against and overthrown his lord, and having imprisoned him, had seized the kingdom.⁵⁶

55 Imad Shah Shah died on Rabi Uj, A.D. 964 (August 27, 1554). His eldest son Malik was raised to the throne. Imad disgusted the people by his senseless delinquency that he was blinded and blinded. His gardener, Ranj Shahin, was the prime mover in his deposition, and Asad Shan like merely obeyed his orders. Imad's second son, Imad Shah Shah II, was raised to the throne in March 1555.

56 There is a confused and misleading account of Imad's expedition to Vijayanagar. Terikaraya, whom Imad and Sayyid Ali and Shahin, had attempted to seize the throne of Vijayanagar, on finding that he was unable to command the allegiance of the leading men of the Kingdom, had been obliged to place on the throne, as a puppet king, a son of Imad's royal house appointed by his maternal uncle Haj Imad Raja on whom he thought second only, to the throne. But Haj Imad, who was a fanatic, put his nephew to death during Terikaraya's absence from the capital on an expedition, and seized the throne. His friends as disguised his supporters that they turned again towards Terikaraya and Haj Imad claimed for his safety sought help of Imad Shah Shah. Terikaraya wrote to Haj Imad promising him to him the danger of investigating a Mughal army into the country and promising to serve him faithfully if he would induce Imad to retire. Haj Imad paid Imad Shah Shah Shah Shah to retire and Terikaraya then married him Vijayanagar. Haj Imad committed suicide and Terikaraya ascended the throne. Imad then sent Imad Shah Shah Shah Shah to capture Imad, but Imad Shah was defeated by Terikaraya, brother of Terikaraya. He retrieved his defeat by a victory and then, with the approval of Imad Shah Shah Shah Shah, made peace. (H. H. 49-50.)

While the success of Râm Râj was yet doubtful and the whole of the army of Vijayanagar had not joined his standard, Asad Khân, regarding the state of affairs in Vijayanagar as an opportunity not to be lost, assembled the whole of the army of Bijâpûr and, taking Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh with him, invaded Vijayanagar with the intention of conquering the country.

When Râm Râj learnt that Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh was invading Vijayanagar he, having regard to his own uncertain position in the country, was compelled to seek safety, at the expense of his honour and reputation, in flight.

Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, finding that his enemy had fled before him, encamped in Vijayanagar and remained there for a considerable time. This easy occupation of an enemy's country turned the young king's head, and he several times said, in the presence of Asad Khân and the rest of the *amîrs*, "My house has hitherto been extremely ill served by its slaves, and as soon as I have done with Vijayanagar, I will, by God's grace, see to this matter, and will take vengeance on all who have not done their duty, and will have done with them." These words made Asad Khân and the other *amîrs* apprehensive, and they sent a messenger to Râm Râj, charged with this message, "What has come to thee that thou hast brought shame on thyself by flying without striking a blow, and hast thus branded thyself as a coward and a craven? Even now, if thou wilt set forth we will so arrange matters that Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh shall avoid a fight and take the road; and even if the affair should end in a battle we will stand aloof so that the day shall be thine. In any case it behoves thee to shake off despondency and to come to battle."

XXXVII.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE KING'S EXPEDITION FOR THE PURPOSE OF SUBDUTING SOME OF THE TRACTS ABOUT PARENDA, AND OF THE EVENTS WHICH HAPPENED DURING THAT EXPEDITION.

A. D. 1540-41. While Burhân Nizâm Shâh had been engaged in his dispute with Sultân Bahâdur of Gujarât, which had been fomented by Imâd-ul-Mulk, 'Âdil Shâh, taking advantage of the opportunity, had annexed some of those districts of the Ahmadnagar kingdom which lay on his frontier and had refused to comply with Burhân Nizâm Shâh's request for their restoration. Now that Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh had invaded Vijayanagar and was encamped there, awaiting the army of Râm Râj, Asad Khân wrote a letter to Burhân Nizâm Shâh, advising him to seize this opportunity of recapturing his lost districts, as Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh could not leave Vijayanagar, and the Turks, who were the flower of his army, were friendly towards Burhân Nizâm Shâh. Burhân Nizâm Shâh therefore assembled his army and marched towards the 'Âdil Shâhî dominions. At this time a close alliance existed between the king and Daryâ Imâd Shâh, and the latter was summoned to join the royal camp. He came, but disapproved of the campaign against Bijâpûr, telling Burhân Nizâm Shâh that the Imâd Shâhî and the 'Âdil Shâhî families were united both by marriage and by the ties of long-standing friendship, and that he conceived that it would be both ungenerous and unkindly to attack the kingdom of Bijâpûr now that 'Ismâ'il 'Âdil Shâh was dead and the government was in the hands of a boy. But in spite of the views urged by Daryâ Imâd Shâh, Burhân Nizâm Shâh, whose apprehensions had been entirely set at rest by Asad Khân's letter, continued his march towards Bijâpûr, moving, however, in a very leisurely manner. Daryâ Imâd Shâh, who was annoyed by Burhân Nizâm Shâh's persistence and disregard of his remonstrances, and also strongly disapproved of his change of religion, marched on rapidly and was several stages ahead of the army of Burhân Nizâm Shâh.

When news of the movements of Burhān NiẒām Shāh reached Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh in Vijayanagar, he was much perturbed, and consulted Asad Khān and his other officers, who had really brought about the invasion,¹⁰⁰ as to the best means of meeting the situation. They unanimously advised him that the only wise course was to make peace with Rām Rāj and to return to his own country. This advice was followed, and Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, on his return, wrote to Daryā 'Imād Shāh, imploring his assistance against the powerful army of Burhān NiẒām Shāh. As he had outstripped the army of Burhān NiẒām Shāh in its advance, he was enabled to press on and meet Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, and he and Ibrāhīm then marched together against the army of Ahmadnagar.

At the same time the loyalty of some of Burhān NiẒām Shāh's officers, such as Sayyid 'Umdat-ul-Mulk, Jīman-i-Khairāt Khān, his brothers Ḥasan Khān and Daulat Khān, who were the sons of Khairāt Khān the African, and the other chief officers of the army, who resented the king's change of religion, was doubtful, and the king was disturbed by the thought that he could not trust them.

At this time the army of Ahmadnagar was encamped at Ghāt Apar Ganga near the Qutli tank and the armies of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh and Daryā 'Imād Shāh were near Bakasi, at a distance of two *gaus* from the *ghāt*. Ḥasan Khān and Daulat Khān, the brothers of Jīman-i-Khairāt Khān, who were the best officers in the army, descended the Ghāt and thus excited the suspicions of Burhān NiẒām Shāh, who ordered them to return. They replied that their retreat in the face of the enemy would only serve to encourage him, and offered to attack the enemy and break his spirit. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, having learnt of the dissensions of the army of Ahmadnagar, was anxious to march forward and attack it, but Daryā 'Imād Shāh restrained him and sent a message to Burhān NiẒām Shāh, telling him that the best thing he could do would be to desist from making war on Bijāpūr in order that Daryā 'Imād Shāh might persuade Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh to surrender the districts about Parenda and induce him to return to Bijāpūr. Burhān NiẒām Shāh agreed to make peace, as these districts were the only cause of the quarrel, and then seized Jīman-i-Khairāt and blinded him. 'Umdat-ul-Mulk then fled from the camp and sought refuge with Daryā 'Imād Shāh.

One night Daryā 'Imād Shāh came in disguise to the tent of 'Ain-ul-Mulk Kar'ānī, one of the officers of Burhān NiẒām Shāh who, like the rest, resented the king's change of religion, and told him that he had come thus as he had a request to make, which he hoped 'Ain-ul-Mulk would grant. 'Ain-ul-Mulk replied that it was granted before it was asked, and Daryā 'Imād Shāh then produced 20,000 *huns* and handed them over to 'Ain-ul-Mulk, promising him other 30,000 for the trouble of joining Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh's camp to get them. 'Ain-ul-Mulk agreed, and marched that night and joined Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, whose army thus became the stronger of the two, for 'Ain-ul-Mulk had always with him three or four thousand of the best cavalry, and it is evident that a change of sides by such a commander must always strengthen the side which he joins.

A.D. 1542. As Daryā 'Imād Shāh was anxious to put an end to the strife and wished well to both sides, he went to Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh and did his best to persuade him to

¹⁰⁰ This accusation is without foundation, and peace had already been concluded with Vijayanagar before Burhān NiẒām Shāh invaded Bijāpūr. Asad Khān Lārī, who was on his estates at Bolgaum, was in disgrace at Bijāpūr owing to the slanders of an enemy, Yūsuf the Turk, who with the permission of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, made more than one attempt to have him poisoned or assassinated. Yūsuf told Ibrāhīm that Asad Khān was annoyed at the re-establishment of the Sunni religion and wished to surrender Belgaum to Burhān NiẒām Shāh, who was a Shī'ah king. The accusation was false, but Asad Khān feared to appear at court, and when Burhān NiẒām Shāh reached the neighbourhood of Belgaum, joined him with 6,000 horses, but was afterwards reconciled to his master and deserted Burhān.

surrender the *peḡhs* of Parenda. These were surrendered to him, and he made them over to Burhân Nizâm Shâh and then persuaded Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh to return to Bijâpûr. After this Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh himself returned to his own country, and Burhân Nizâm Shâh set out on his return march. When the army started for Ahmadnagar Burhân Nizâm Shâh considered it unwise to pay any attention to Hasan Khân and to Daulat Khân, who were below the *ghât*, and they, being apprehensive of his intentions towards them, went to their *jâgîrs*, Parenda and Âshti, and thence made their way to Gujarât, where they had been assured of a favourable reception.

According to some historians, Barîd-i-Mamâlik (Amîr 'Alî Barîd) who accompanied Burhân Nizâm Shâh on all his expeditions, died on the return march to Ahmadnagar, while some say that his death occurred just after the meeting of Burhân Nizâm Shâh with Sultân Bahâdur of Gujarât; but whichever account be true, it is certain that he met his death while serving the king.¹⁰¹

The king grieved sorely for the death of Malik Barîd (Amîr 'Alî Barîd) who had ever been obedient to him and had never for any reason disobeyed him or crossed him, and after his return to Ahmadnagar he honoured his eldest son, who had accompanied his father on his expedition, by bestowing on him one of his daughters in marriage, and granted to him a royal robe of honour, an umbrella, and an *âstâbgîr*, set him up in his father's place, and distributed both to him and to his army very large rewards both in cash and in kind.

When Malik Barîd (Âlî Barîd Shâh I) obtained permission to depart and returned to Bîdar, his two younger brothers, who were in Bîdar, rebelled against him and blinded and imprisoned him, and then took the kingdom for themselves, one of them taking the title of his father and the other that of Khân Jahân. Such is fate.

After this, the sons of Malik Barîd, following the guidance of good fortune, remained loyal for a time to the Nizâm Shâhî house and were honoured accordingly, but afterwards, their enmity and opposition to the royal house bore their own fruit, as will be mentioned hereafter in its proper place.

At this time the love and friendship that existed between the king and Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh were strengthened by the marriage of one of the daughters of Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh to Mirân 'Abdul Qâdir, and the two families were long united in the bonds of friendship until the traitor Tufâl Khân rebelled against the children of Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh and took possession of the country of Berar, until time brought home to him the punishment of his misdeeds.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ Amîr 'Alî Barîd, the second of the Barîd dynasty of Bîdar, died in 1542 near Daulatâbâd whither Burhân Nizâm Shâh had been driven by Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh I. Sayyid 'Âlî's account of this campaign is most misleading. The true version will be given later. Amîr 'Alî was succeeded by his son of the same name who, having been the first of his line who ventured to assume the royal title, is known as 'Alî Barîd Shâh. The statement that his two younger brothers rebelled against him and deposed and blinded him is entirely incorrect. He reigned in Bîdar until his death in A.H. 987 (A.D. 1579) and was succeeded by his eldest son, Ibrâhîm Barîd Shâh.

¹⁰² That is to say, the annexation of Berar by Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh I in 1574 and Tufâl Khân's imprisonment and death.

fortress, thus obtaining exemption from the fate of the garrison of the fortress taken by storm. Burhân Nizâm Shâh then appointed one of his officers commandant of the fortress and returned to Ahmadnagar.

Some historians say that Burhân Nizâm Shâh, after capturing Sholâpûr, marched to Bijâpûr, and besieged Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, who shut himself up in the citadel and sent an envoy to Burhân Nizâm Shâh, promising that if the latter would pardon his misdeeds and leave him in peace, he would ever be obedient to him. According to this account, Burhân Nizâm Shâh acceded to the request of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh and returned from Bijâpûr to Ahmadnagar. But God knows the truth of the matter.

XXXIX.—AN ACCOUNT OF IBRÂHÎM 'ÂDIL SHÂH'S EXPEDITION FOR THE RECOVERY OF SHOLÂPÛR AND OF BURHÂN NIZÂM SHÂH'S MARCH TO MEET HIM.

When Burhân Nizâm Shâh had returned to Ahmadnagar after the capture of Sholâpûr, or, as other historians say, after the siege of Bijâpûr, Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh assembled his army for the purpose of recovering Sholâpûr, and, having marched to that fortress, besieged it. He directed his army to throw up lines of contravallation as a defence against the army of Ahmadnagar when it should march to the relief of Sholâpûr.

When Burhân Nizâm Shâh heard that Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh was besieging Sholâpûr, he assembled a very large army and sent it to Sholâpûr, where it encamped near the ground occupied by the army of Bijâpûr. Every day skirmishes took place and the troops of Ahmadnagar were usually victorious over those of Bijâpûr.

One day about forty valiant horsemen of Ahmadnagar, among whom were Ashraf Khân, Farang Khân, Firûz Khân, Sayyid Muḥammad Qâsim, Miyân Tund, Khaljî Khân, Shailkh Mukhtâr, Miyân Afghân, Shaikh Khanus, Farhâd Khân, Anwar Chata Khân, 'Azîz-ul-Mulk, Sayyid Ibrâhîm, Sayyid Uwais and others, while out reconnoitring passed near the laager of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh. Qadam Khân and Mustafâ Khân of Bijâpûr, with 3,000 horse and several elephants, were employed in constructing this laager, and when they saw how few there were of the army of Ahmadnagar, they lay in wait for them and suddenly attacked them. The forty horsemen, however, threw themselves upon their assailants and at length overcame them and dispersed them, pursuing them nearly as far as Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh's tents. Just then Ikhlas Khân, one of Burhân Nizâm Shâh's *amîrs*, came up with fifty horse, and when he saw that forty horsemen had defeated a large body of the enemy, he too, fired, with the spirit of emulation, attacked a force under Qabûl Khân 'Âdilshâhî, which was without the laager, defeated it, and put it to flight.

When Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh saw that his army was unable to meet that of Ahmadnagar in the field, he lost heart, left Sholâpûr at night and returned to Bijâpûr, whereupon Burhân Nizâm Shâh returned to Ahmadnagar.

XL.—AN ACCOUNT OF IBRÂHÎM 'ÂDIL SHÂH'S SECOND ATTEMPT TO RECOVER SHOLÂPÛR, OF THE EXPEDITION OF BURHÂN NIZÂM SHÂH TO MEET HIM AND OF THE LATTER'S VICTORY.

After a while Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh was again moved with the desire to recover Sholâpûr, and marched thither with a large army and besieged it as before, constructing lines of contravallation and a strong laager, within which he took up his quarters. Burhân Nizâm Shâh then marched from Ahmadnagar with a large army and encamped over against Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, and, as before, skirmishes took place daily. One day Bahâdur Khân, brother of 'Âlam Khân and one of Burhân Nizâm Shâh's officers, attacked the enemy and performed great feats of valour, but since the enemy greatly outnumbered him, they were

able to surround him, and he was very nearly taken prisoner ; but reinforcements were sent from the army of Ahmadnagar and freed Bahâdur Khân from his perilous position. Afterwards Pîr Muḥammad Khân, with the small force under his command, attacked the 'Âdilshâhî army and fought most bravely, but was at length taken prisoner and carried before Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, who highly praised him for his valour and, giving him a robe of honour and a reward, allowed him to depart.

After that the king commanded Mushîr-ul-Mulk the Afghân, to attack the enemy and ordered Firûz Khân to support him, but although Mushîr-ul-Mulk displayed great valour on that day, the attack was unsuccessful, and Firûz Khân, who was envious, reported to the king that Mushîr-ul-Mulk had not behaved well before the enemy. The king, in his displeasure with Mushîr-ul-Mulk the Afghân, deprived him of his command and transferred it to Allâh Dâd Daulat Khân, but Daulat Khân informed the king that Mushîr-ul-Mulk had behaved very bravely in the fight and that Firûz Khân's report was false. The king then sent for Daulat Khân's brothers, who had been with Mushîr-ul-Mulk in the battle, and asked them for an account of the fight. They insisted that Mushîr-ul-Mulk had shewn great bravery, and the king then restored Mushîr-ul-Mulk to his command and honoured him before his fellows ; but Firûz Khân, who had made a lying report, fell from favour.

One day at about this time Nûr Khân 'Âdilshâhî made an attack on the royal army and Kâmil Khân, one of the *amîrs* of Ahmadnagar, was wounded with an arrow. Burhân Nizâm Shâh sent Shujâ'at Khân, Azhdahâ Khân, and Daulat Khân to the assistance of Kâmil Khân with instructions to punish Nûr Khân. These *amîrs* attacked Nûr Khân, who, being unable to withstand them, took to flight. Some of the Ahmadnagaris pursued him and slew several Bijâpûris, and returned with their horses and arms.

Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh again found that his troops were not able to withstand those of Ahmadnagar and, as he had done before, returned to Bijâpûr by the road by which he had come and thus made an end of the strife. Burhân Nizâm Shâh then returned in triumph to his capital.

XLI.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF SILBA, BETWEEN BURHÂN NIZÂM SHÂH AND IBRÂHÎM 'ÂDIL SHÂH, AND OF OTHER EVENTS WHICH HAPPENED ABOUT THAT TIME.

Some months after the retreat of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh from Sholâpûr to Bijâpûr and the return of Burhân Nizâm Shâh to his capital, Asad Khân 'Âdilshâhî, who was always at heart a faithful servant of the kingdom of Ahmadnagar, and shewed his fidelity in all campaigns and battles between Ahmadnagar and Bijâpûr, took ill; and in his sickness it occurred to him that as Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh was always suspicious of him, he might take advantage of this opportunity to get rid of him. He therefore wrote secretly to Burhân Nizâm Shâh, urging him to invade the kingdom of Bijâpûr, in order that Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, being perturbed by the invasion of his country, might abandon his design against him.

As Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, unlike the rest of the *amîrs* of the Dakan ¹⁰⁴ who were usually submissive and obedient to the king, attended at court when called upon, and attended him in his wars (and if occasionally one of them were disloyal or disobedient, he became the object of the king's wrath and speedily met with his deserts), was constantly at enmity with Ahmadnagar and opposed the king on every possible occasion, Burhân Nizâm Shâh made it his principal object to overthrow this promoter of strife, to take vengeance on him, and to deliver the people of the country from his oppression and tyranny. He also sent

¹⁰⁴ This is a very impudent attempt to represent an independent sovereign as one of the *amîrs* of Burhân Nizâm Shâh's court.

Shâh Tâhir to win over Malik Barîd, who was just now not on good terms with Ahmadnagar, and with instructions to go on, after he had sent Malik Barîd to Ahmadnagar, to Telingâna and to attempt to induce Sultân Qulî Qutb-ul-Mulk to enter into an offensive alliance with Ahmadnagar, for at this time Sultân Qulî Qutb ul-Mulk followed his usual policy of keeping himself to himself, and of avoiding both enmity and alliance with the other Sultâns of the Dakan.

Shâh Tâhir had an audience of Malik Barîd ('Alî Barîd Shâh) and stated the case to him. It is said that Khân Jahân, the brother of Malik Barîd, set himself dexterously to annoy Shâh Tâhir and uttered words regarding him which bore a contemptuous signification. Shâh Tâhir was very angry and returned angry answers. Malik Barîd was much annoyed at his brother's conduct and did his best to pacify Shâh Tâhir, and actually punished his brother, but Shâh Tâhir never forgot the insult. This matter ended in Malik Barîd joining Burhân Nizâm Shâh at Ahmadnagar, and Shâh Tâhir went to Telingâna.

When Shâh Tâhir waited on Sultân Qulî Qutb Shâh he soon persuaded him not to oppose, but to further, the designs of Burhân Nizâm Shâh. Sultân Qulî Qutb-ul-Mulk set out with his army to aid Burhân Nizâm Shâh, and sent on in advance a force which accompanied Shâh Tâhir. Burhân Nizâm Shâh, when all his forces had assembled, marched towards Bijâpûr.

Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh and 'Alî Barîd Shâh paid their respects to the king at about the same time and the army moved forward and crossed the Bhinur. When the troops thus entered the Bijâpûr dominions, Burhân Nizâm Shâh sent his artillery on towards Bijâpûr by the main road, while he, with the rest of his army, marched rapidly on Bijâpûr by another and less well-known road.

When Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh learnt that Burhân had separated his artillery from the main body of his army, he, with a picked force, moved on the artillery by forced marches. The *amîrs*, who were with the artillery, defended the guns manfully and, since they had a large force with them, they beat off the attacking force and wounded many and made many prisoners. They loaded some of the guns to the muzzles, so that they burst when fired.

Meanwhile the main body of the army, marching rapidly by the other road, had arrived before Bijâpûr, and the king encamped there and opened the siege. A messenger now came from Asad Khân to say that the prospect of the success of a siege of Bijâpûr was not very hopeful, and to advise the king to march on Belgaum, as that fortress would more easily all into their hands.

The king then marched from Bijâpûr, and halted at Miraj,¹⁰⁵ the distance from which place to Belgaum is three *gâûs*. Here he heard that Asad Khân had died and that Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh had reached Belgaum and was prepared to defend the place. He therefore turned aside and, instead of marching on Belgaum, marched on Panhâla,¹⁰⁶ a very high and strong fortress, and besieged that fortress. The army besieged it vigorously for three days, in the course of which Râjan Maḥallḍâr, one of the king's intimate associates, was slain. It soon became manifest that the army would not be able to capture that fortress, and the king abandoned the siege and marched on the fortress of Pâmîn, and laid siege to it. The army

¹⁰⁵ Miraj is situated in 16° 49' N. and 74° 41' E. Sayyid 'Alî's geography is as bad as his history. The distance from Miraj to Belgaum is not three *gâûs* (twelve miles) but about sixty-eight miles.

¹⁰⁶ Panhâla is about thirty-five miles west of Miraj. I have not been able to find Pâmîn, but perhaps we should read "the lower fortress."

of Ahmadnagar, after having laid siege to Pâmîn for no more than a day and a night, took the fortress by storm, and Burhân Nizâm Shâh caused its fortifications and the dwellings of its inhabitants to be levelled with the ground.¹⁰⁷

Burhân Nizâm Shâh then marched to Satâra,¹⁰⁷ a very strong fortress situated in the hills, and, in spite of its strength, his troops attacked it resolutely and continued their attempts to take the place by storm for five days, at the end of which time Burhân Nizâm Shâh heard that Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh was marching to attack him. He therefore detached several thousand horse under the command of some of the bravest *amîrs* of his army to advance to meet Ibrâhîm, for the ground about Satâra, where Burhân was encamped, was very hilly and unsuited for battle. The *amîrs* marched to meet Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, and when they fell in with his advanced guard, attacked it, and slew many. But the main body of the army of Bijâpûr arrived on the field and attacked the *amîrs*, defeated them, and put them to flight.

Then Burhân Nizâm Shâh, seeing that he could not fight in the position before Satâra, marched to the *ghât* of Sâlpa, where he encamped. But the position here also was very cramped, owing to the density of the jungle, and Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh sent 3,000 infantry of his army into the jungle surrounding Burhân's camp, in order that they might harass and annoy the army of Ahmadnagar. The enemy's infantry, trusting to the density of the jungle, carried out these orders, but Burhân Nizâm Shâh ordered Dilâvar Khân and Daryâ to attack the infantry and they fell on them and at once slew three hundred of them, and carried the heads to Burhân Nizâm Shâh, by whose orders they were built up into pillars.

As Pâr¹⁰⁸ was too cramped a position for the army, Burhân Nizâm Shâh marched on and encamped on the river of Pâr. On the following day Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh descended the *ghât* and encamped over against the royal army, and the two armies lay that night opposite to one another.

On the following morning the two armies were drawn up in battle array and the fight began. Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh fought in person with the utmost valour, and several times threw both the right and the left wings of the army of Ahmadnagar into confusion. Burhân Nizâm Shâh was astonished at Ibrâhîm's bravery and loudly praised it, although parts of his own army were scattered. He himself, however, in the assurance that victory would at last be his, firmly held his ground, and Shâh Tâhir, who was supernaturally enlightened regarding the result of the day, confirmed him in his resolution. The battle lasted till sunset, when Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, with two or three thousand of his best cavalry took up his position on some rising ground on the flank of the army of Ahmadnagar. Burhân Nizâm Shâh then opened a fire of rockets on the enemy and scattered them, while Kâmil Khân and Zâhîr-ul-Mulk, two *amîrs* of the army of Ahmadnagar, attacked Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh and dispersed the force of cavalry which was with him. Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh then fled from the field, and the army of Ahmadnagar, pressing forward, pursued and slew many of the fugitives and captured their camp equipage, goods, arms and elephants, and also Ibrâhîm's umbrella and other insignia of royalty.

Among the spoils were forty elephants, including Asad Khân's own riding elephant and Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh's umbrella and *âftâbgîr* and all his insignia of royalty. Burhân Nizâm

¹⁰⁷ This is the famous fort of Satâra, once Sivaji's capital, and now the headquarters of a British district, situated in 17° 41' N. and 74° E.

¹⁰⁸ The Pâr Pass, situated about thirty-four miles north-west of Satâra.

Shâh's scribes then wrote accounts of the victory and dispatched them to all places in the king's dominions.

Burhân Nizâm Shâh then returned in triumph to his capital and devoted his attention to the administration of his kingdom and to the needs of his army and his subjects.

XLII.—AN ACCOUNT OF IBRÂHÎM 'ÂDIL SHÂH'S THIRD EXPEDITION TO SHOLÂPÛR
AND OF ITS CAPTURE.

After Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh had suffered at Sâlpa such a defeat as he had never in his life suffered before, he devoted his attention to the strengthening of his army, to collecting material for war, and to preparing for reprisals. He also, by diplomatic arts, gained over to his side Barîd-i-Mamâlik and then marched to Sholâpûr with a large army. When he reached Sholâpûr he opened a regular siege and, in accordance with his usual custom, constructed lines of contravallation against a counter-attack from the army of Ahmadnagar and carried a flying sap towards the fortress on all sides.

When Burhân Nizâm Shâh received news of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh's siege of Sholâpûr, he assembled his army and asked Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh for help, and Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh came to his assistance. He then marched to Sholâpûr and encamped in the neighbourhood of the army of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, and skirmishes took place daily between the two armies. This intermittent fighting went on for a long time, and meanwhile provisions began to fail in the fort and the garrison were reduced to great straits, for Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh besieged them so straitly that no communication between those within the fort and those without was possible. Moreover Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh wearied of the long strife and had no heart for fighting, but devoted all his efforts to attempting to make peace. Meanwhile, the rainy season began very suddenly and caused great hardship in the army of Ahmadnagar. Burhân Nizâm Shâh now sent a messenger secretly to Barîd-i-Mamâlik to detach him by any means from his alliance with Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, in the hope that his defection would so weaken the besiegers that they would be compelled to relinquish the siege. Barîd-i-Mamâlik replied that the fortress of Sholâpûr could hardly pass from the possession of Burhân Nizâm Shâh, and that his defection from Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh would make no difference. He also said that it was not the practice of his kingdom to forsake an ally before a campaign had been brought to a conclusion, and that if he now abandoned Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh he could hardly hope to be trusted by Burhân Nizâm Shâh in future. He advised Burhân Nizâm Shâh to abandon Sholâpûr for that year to Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh and to return the next year with a large army to recapture it, promising him his aid in the following year, when he would be free from his engagement with Bijâpûr. Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh supported Amîr 'Alî Shâh and advised Burhân to make peace with Bijâpûr. For these reasons, therefore, Burhân Nizâm Shâh made peace with Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, surrendered Sholâpûr to him, and returned to Ahmadnagar.

XLIII.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE DEATH OF SULTÂN QUTB-UL-MULK, AND OF
JAMSHÎD'S ACCESSION TO THE THRONE.

After the affair of Sholâpûr, Malik Sultân Qulî Qutb-ul-Mulk, ¹⁰⁹ the governor of the country of Telingâna, was assassinated by one of his courtiers and his eldest son, Jamshîd

¹⁰⁹ Sultân Qulî Qutb-ul-Mulk, the founder of the Qutb Shâhî dynasty of Golconda, declared his independence in 1512, but had already been virtually independent for twenty-two years. From his epitaph it does not appear that he used the royal title, though his descendants did. He was murdered on September 3rd, 1543, in the ninety-eighth year of his age, by his second surviving son Jamshîd, who succeeded him. This account of 'Alî Barîd Shâh's attempt to annex Telingâna appears to be entirely imaginary, for it was only towards the end of Jamshîd's reign that his brothers Faidar and Ibrâhîm fled to

Khān, who had been imprisoned in Goleonda by his father's order, was released by his father's murderer and ascended the throne. His brothers, Haider Khān and Ibrāhīm Khān, who were not content that he should be king, fled with part of the army and forty elephants and took refuge with 'Alī Barīd Shāh. 'Alī Barīd Shāh then conceived the foolish notion of capturing Telingāna for himself, believing that its conquest would be easy with the help of Haider Khān and Ibrāhīm, who were the heirs to the kingdom, and of the army of Telingāna, most of which was well affected towards them. He therefore assembled his army, marched into Telingāna, besieged Goleonda, and entered on a campaign.

Shāh Tāhir, in whose heart Khān Jahān's witticisms still rankled, when he heard that 'Alī Barīd Shāh had invaded Telingāna, warned Burhān NiẒām Shāh that the dissatisfaction of Haider Khān and Ibrāhīm with the elevation of their brother Jamshīd to the throne, and their taking refuge with 'Alī Barīd Shāh had inspired the latter with the ambition of becoming king of the whole of the Dakan, and that he had invaded Telingāna as a step towards the attainment of this object. He said that if 'Alī Barīd Shāh gained possession of Telingāna, his power would be more than doubled and that it behoved the king not to treat this matter as one of no importance but to act at once, as 'Alī Barīd Shāh would certainly plunge the whole of the Dakan into war as soon as he found himself strong enough to be able to do so with a chance of ultimate success, and that it would not be easy to overthrow him after he had conquered Jamshīd and annexed Telingāna. The king therefore assembled his army, summoned Daryā 'Imād Shāh, and marched towards Telingāna to the assistance of Jamshīd Qutb Shāh, sending on before him a force under some of his *amīrs* to render immediate aid to Jamshīd.

The road taken by the king with the main body of the army lay by the fortress of Kohīr,¹¹⁰ which is in the country of 'Alī Barīd Shāh, but is near the borders of Telingāna. Here the king halted and besieged the fortress. The garrison, seeing that there was no hope of successfully defending the place and that the fort was so surrounded by the army of Ahmadnagar that no way of escape remained, surrendered, and by the king's order the army refrained from molesting them, their property, or their wives and children.

When the *amīrs*, with the force which had been sent forward to the aid of Jamshīd Qutb-ul-Mulk, entered Telingāna, and 'Alī Barīd Shāh and his brother heard of the fall of Kohīr, they were greatly alarmed, and retreated rapidly from Telingāna towards Bijāpūr, and took refuge in the dominions of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh. Jamshīd Qutb-ul-Mulk then came to pay his respects to the king, and to thank him for the help which he had given, and the king bestowed on him a royal robe, an umbrella and *āstābgīr*, and honoured him with the title of Qutb Shāh. Some historians say that, although the king offered Jamshīd Qutb-ul-Mulk an umbrella and *āstābgīr*, he refused to receive them, saying that all the *amīrs* of the Dakan had assumed umbrellas and *āstābgīrs* and that it behoved him to serve the king faithfully as a soldier. He also said that he was the loyal slave of the king and would carry out any orders that were given to him, or attack any enemy against whom he was sent, and hoped that he should be able to perform his duties to the king's satisfaction.

Bidar, where all that 'Alī Barīd Shāh did for them was to give them a safe asylum. Haider died in Bidar and Ibrāhīm went on to Vijayanagar, whence he started, after Jamshīd's death, on the expedition which gained for him the throne of Goleonda. The true course of events after Jamshīd's accession seems to have been as follows. Burhān, eager to recover Sholāpūr, instigated Jamshīd to invade Bijāpūr from the east and Sadāshivarāya of Vijayanagar to attack Rāichūr, and himself invaded the Sholāpūr district and several times defeated the troops of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh. Ibrāhīm conciliated Burhān by the cession of Sholāpūr, induced Sadāshivarāya to withdraw his troops from Rāichūr, and then sent Asad Khān Lari against Jamshīd Qutb Shāh, who was utterly defeated and driven back to Goleonda.

¹¹⁰ Kohīr, famous for its mangoes, is about twenty-five miles south by east of Bidar.

Although 'Alî Barîd Shâh had sought refuge with Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, he expressed repentance for his ill-advised action, and by fair words and submissive messages attempted to excuse himself to Burhân Nizâm Shâh. He sent a letter, couched in humble terms, to Shâh Tâhir, expressing his contrition.

When Jamshîd Quṭb Shâh waited on the king before Kohîr and received special honour Burhân Nizâm Shâh took counsel with Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh and Jamshîd Quṭb Shâh regarding the recapture of Sholâpûr, and then marched, accompanied by them, towards Sholâpûr.

When Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh became aware of Burhân's design and realized that he could not hope to confront him successfully in the field, he and 'Alî Barîd Shâh marched to Parenda and besieged it, and when Burhân Nizâm Shâh heard of this, he abandoned the siege of Sholâpûr and marched to meet Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, encamping at the village of Khâsspûrî. Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh likewise left Parenda and marched on Khâsspûrî to meet Burhân Nizâm Shâh, and at that place a battle was fought. The opposing forces were drawn up in the morning and the battle raged till sunset, when victory was declared for Burhân Nizâm Shâh, and Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh and his army fled from the field, leaving all their camp equipage and Ibrâhîm's insignia of royalty in the hands of the victors, who plundered them.

Jamshîd Quṭb Shâh, who had been nursing his wrath against 'Alî Barîd Shâh, now seized his opportunity and pursued the army of Bîdar. 'Alî Barîd Shâh, in his fear of Jamshîd, fled precipitately, leaving his umbrella and *âstâbgîr* and all his insignia of royalty in the hands of Jamshîd Quṭb Shâh.

After the armies of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh and 'Alî Barîd Shâh had been thus defeated, Jamshîd Quṭb Shâh received leave to depart, and returned to Telingâna, and Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh returned to Berar. The royal army then returned to Ahmadnagar.

XLIV.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE REASONS FOR THE OVERTHROW OF 'ALÎ BARÎD SHÂH'S POWER, AND OF THE CAPTURE FROM HIM OF KANDHÂR.

Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat; and thus it came about that 'Alî Barîd Shâh committed foolish and base acts. First there was the facetiousness of Khân Jahân at the expense of Shâh Tâhir,¹¹¹ then 'Alî Barîd Shâh's alliance with Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, next his attempt to conquer Telingâna, which things led in the end to the loss of most of his kingdom. Yet did not the king at once seek his overthrow, but remembered the services of his father.

In A.H. 949 (A.D. 1542-43), as some say, the king again bethought himself of recovering Sholâpûr, which had been taken from his troops, and the desire for recovering which had been a continual source of strife. He therefore assembled his army with the object of attacking Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, and marched to the bank of the Gangâ, where he

¹¹¹ See *ante*, XLIX, 220 Khân Jahân's jest was coarse and foolish. He said to Shâh Tâhir, "Is the dung of Bukhârâ clean (*tâhir*) or unclean?" Shâh Tâhir replied that he had run his horse with him, and so could not refer to them for the answer, but that he would look the question up when he returned to Ahmadnagar and let Khân Jahân know. The threat was well understood.

Both the date and Burhân's objective as given in this section are wrong in the section titles: the campaign which ended in the treaty by which Burhân was to be paid for or capture the fort and this campaign occurred in 1544. Burhân, at the instigation of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, marched to Gulbarga and besieged it. Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh marched to the relief of the place, but was defeated for two months on the banks of the Bhîma, which was swollen with the rains and the flood. The fort was held by Burhân's troops. In October he succeeded in forcing a passage and recaptured the fort. Burhân. About this time Sholâpûr also appears to have been recovered by Burhân.

encamped. As soon as Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh heard of the approach of the royal army, he assembled his troops and joined the king, having the honour of being admitted to an audience. Burhân Nizâm Shâh now decided to give 'Alî Barîd Shâh one more chance of strengthening himself, by entering into an alliance with him and by submitting himself to his court, and therefore sent Shâh Tâhir on an embassy to Bidar. Before Shâh Tâhir's arrival, the envoy of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh had come to summon 'Alî Barîd Shâh, and 'Alî Barîd Shâh had agreed to wait on Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh; but after Shâh Tâhir's arrival, 'Alî Barîd Shâh withdrew from this engagement and dismissed the envoy of Bijâpûr, who returned without accomplishing his object. Shâh Tâhir then succeeded in persuading 'Alî Barîd Shâh to enter into a treaty, and 'Alî Barîd accompanied Shâh Tâhir on his return to the royal camp, and, all his anxiety having been removed, appeared before the king and made his obeisance.

When Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh heard that the army of Ahmadnagar had been assembled with the object of recapturing Sholâpûr, he assembled his army and marched from Bijâpûr to take the field.

Now, although 'Alî Barîd Shâh was professedly the faithful servant of Burhân Nizâm Shâh, he secretly inclined towards Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, with whom he maintained correspondence, and as will be seen, behaved with disgraceful treachery, which in the end brought about his downfall.

When Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh with his army approached Burhân Nizâm Shâh's army, 'Alî Barîd Shâh attempted to separate himself from Burhân Nizâm Shâh, and thus weaken his army; but he struck with his axe only his own leg. He sent his brother, Khân Jahân, to Burhân Nizâm Shâh to say that the army of Bidar was weak, exhausted, and scattered, and to implore Burhân Nizâm Shâh to consider his own army and to make peace and to give him permission to return to Bidar in order that he might devote himself to the reorganization of his army and thus be ready to join the king whenever he should again set forth to war.

Bhopâl Râi, who was one of the Brâhmans of 'Alî Barîd Shâh, and had accompanied Khân Jahân on his mission was, by the guidance of his own good fortune, a well-wisher of Burhân Nizâm Shâh and used his influence to guide the negotiations into channels favourable to Burhân Nizâm Shâh. He openly put to Khân Jahân this question, "When you are content and at ease, are your enemies content and at ease or not?" This apposite question attracted the king's attention to him, and the king, by means of judicious favours, induced the Brâhman to forsake 'Alî Barîd Shâh's service and enter his own, in which he was distinguished by the royal favour; but at last he displayed the treachery and ingratitude which are inseparably connected with infidels, and surrendered the fortress of Kaliyâni, of which he was *kotwâl*, to the 'Âdil Shâhî troops, as will be related in the history of the reign of Husain Nizâm Shâh.

Burhân Nizâm Shâh was well aware, from what Khân Jahân said, that 'Alî Barîd Shâh meditated treachery, and was very angry within himself, but, owing to the treaty which he had made, he refrained from openly taking vengeance on Khân Jahân, and gave him leave to depart. He then took counsel with Shâh Tâhir in the matter of 'Alî Barîd Shâh. Shâh Tâhir said that as 'Alî Barîd Shâh was ever at variance with Ahmadnagar and constantly opposed the king and allied himself with his enemies, the wisest course was to put him out of the way now, while opportunity offered, as, if he escaped, he would not again be easily seized, but would gain power day by day and would become prouder than ever, for the only object which he had in view was independent sovereignty, to gain which he ever stirred up strife and caused much suffering to the land and its inhabitants.

While this discussion was in progress news was brought to the king that 'Alī Barīd Shāh had now thrown off all disguise and had caused the envoy of Daryā 'Imād Shāh to be trampled to death by an elephant, and that Daryā 'Imād Shāh had drawn up his troops and was about to attack 'Alī Barīd Shāh. Burhān Nizām Shāh sent for Daryā 'Imād Shāh, and did his best to compose the strife, saying that 'Alī Barīd Shāh had been induced to join the army on the strength of his treaty with Ahmadnagar, which was a safe conduct to him, and that if the treaty were broken by the imprisonment of 'Alī Barīd Shāh, no one would henceforth place any trust in treaties entered into by Ahmadnagar. The king said that it was advisable to leave the faithless treaty-breaker, 'Alī Barīd Shāh, alone for the present, and then, having made peace with Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, to devote their whole attention to punishing 'Alī Barīd Shāh. Both Daryā 'Imād Shāh and Shāh Tāhir expressed admiration for the wisdom of the king's advice, and loyally accepted it.

'Alī Barīd Shāh, having received leave to depart, retired with all speed to Bidar, and Shāh Tāhir and Daryā 'Imād Shāh sent envoys to Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh with proposals for peace. They said that it was a pity that the fortress of Sholāpūr had so long been a source of strife between Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh and Burhān Nizām Shāh and that 'Alī Barīd Shāh had thus had an opportunity, of which he had never failed to take advantage, of stirring up strife to serve his own ends. They suggested that Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh should raise no objection to the capture of Kandhār by Burhān Nizām Shāh from 'Alī Barīd Shāh, as compensation for the loss of Sholāpūr, and said that Burhān on his part would raise no objection to the conquest by Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh of as much of the dominions of Vijayanagar as he could take from the infidels. These terms were most acceptable to Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh. Indeed, it was on this principle that he had always wished to settle the quarrel. He therefore gladly accepted them and sent an envoy to Burhān Nizām Shāh bearing valuable gifts and a letter confirming his acceptance of the terms of peace. Burhān Nizām Shāh received the envoy and formally accepted the terms of peace. He there dismissed the envoy and marched, with Daryā 'Imād Shāh, towards Kandhār, while Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh marched with his army against Vijayanagar.

As soon as Burhān Nizām Shāh reached Kandhār, he laid siege to it.¹¹² The garrison at first defended it bravely but, in spite of the great strength of the fortress, were not long able to withstand the army of Ahmadnagar, and as the besiegers had so surrounded the fortress that there was no way of escape, the garrison besought Daryā 'Imād Shāh to intercede with Burhān Nizām Shāh for them, that their lives and goods might be spared. Daryā 'Imād Shāh undertook the task, and when the garrison were assured that his intercession had prevailed, they came forth and surrendered the fortress. Burhān Nizām Shāh, as in the case of the other forts which he had captured, placed one of his trusted officers in command of the fort and in charge of the administration of the district dependent on it, and returned to Ahmadnagar. On his way to the capital he gave Daryā 'Imād Shāh permission to depart to Berar.

XLV.—THE DEATH OF SHĀH TĀHIR.

In A.H. 953 (A.D. 1546-47) Shāh Tāhir was sent as an ambassador by Burhān Nizām Shāh to Daryā 'Imād Shāh of Berar, and while absent on his mission, died.¹¹³ The king

¹¹² Firishta (ii. 229) places the siege of Kandhār after the sieges of Ausa and Ūdgir.

¹¹³ Firishta (ii. 230) places the death of Shāh Tāhir in A.H. 956 (A.D. 1549), but he appears to be wrong, for each of the four ingenious chronograms here given gives the date 953. The *mashhad* here mentioned is not the city of that name in Khurāsān but the *mashhad* (place of martyrdom) of Husayn at Karbatā. Shāh Tāhir left four sons, (1) Shāh Haidar, born in 'Irāq, and (2) Shāh Rafi-'ud-din Husayn (3) Shāh Abūl Hasan, and (4) Shāh Abū Tālib, born in the Dakan.

was much grieved on hearing of his death, but found no remedy for his grief but resignation. Some of the learned men of the age composed a *qasīdah* on his death, one couplet of which contained four chronograms. The couplet was as follows:—

عارف اسرار عام کاشف اسرار ماک : واقف آثار دین مانع اسرار ماک

By the king's command Shāh Tāhir's coffin was taken to Mashhad, and was there buried near the shrine of the Imām Husain, the son of 'Alī.

XLVI.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE CAPTURE OF THE FORTRESSES OF AUSA AND ŪDGĪR.

A year or more after the capture of Kandhār,¹¹⁴ Burhān NiẒām Shāh formed the resolve of conquering the fortresses of Ausa and Ūdgīr, and ordered his army to assemble. Daryā 'Imād Shāh, in accordance with the terms of his treaty of alliance with Burhān NiẒām Shāh, brought his army to the king's assistance as soon as he heard of his intention of attacking these two fortresses. When the army was assembled, the king marched first on Ausa and, having encamped before that fortress, laid siege to it.

Some historians say that when Jamshīd Qutb Shāh heard of the intention of Burhān NiẒām Shāh to march against Ausa and Ūdgīr, he assembled his army and marched to oppose him, but that on reaching a hill whence a full view of the army of Ahmadnagar could be obtained, he was so alarmed at its strength that he fled with all haste to Telingāna. But God knows whether this be true or not.

In accordance with the king's command the army surrounded Ausa and not only made constant attacks on the fort, but also carried mines beneath the bastions and curtains, while the artillery maintained a constant fire on the walls. The garrison, confident in the strength of the fortress, resisted all attacks with great firmness and valour. Among those of Burhān NiẒām Shāh's army who especially distinguished themselves by bravery and activity, was Gharih Khān the Foreigner, who was known as Redbeard.

At length the heavy artillery fire demolished one face of the wall, and the troops were drawn up and marched towards the breach with the object of taking the place by storm.

The garrison now followed the example that had been set them by the garrison of Kandhār and cried for quarter, making Daryā 'Imād Shāh of Berar their intercessor with the king, who, at Daryā's instance, pardoned the garrison for the offence of opposing him. The commandant of the fort, one of the amirs of 'Alī Barid Shāh, then came and made his submission to the king, and was taken into his service.

Burhān NiẒām Shāh then appointed one of his trusted officers to the command of the fort and the government of the district dependent on it, and marched towards Ūdgīr.

When the army had halted and encamped at Ūdgīr, the fortress was carried by one determined assault and Burhān NiẒām Shāh, in accordance with the terms of a treaty which he had made, handed it over to Daryā 'Imād Shāh and returned to Ahmadnagar.

Daryā 'Imād Shāh, however, had pity on 'Alī Barid Shāh and restored Ūdgīr to him. Thus the fortress remained in the possession of the Barid Shāhī dynasty until the reign of Murtaẓā NiẒām Shāh I, when it came into the possession of the NiẒām Shāhī dynasty, as will be related hereafter.

¹¹⁴ The campaign against the Bidar Kingdom was undertaken, according to Firishṭa (ii. 56 226) in A.H. 955 (A. D. 1548) for the purpose of avenging the insult offered to Shāh Tāhir by Khān Jahān. Burhān besieged Ausa and 'Alī Barid Shāh purchased the help of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh by ceding to him Kaliyāni. Ibrāhīm and 'Alī Barid attacked Burhān near Ausa but were defeated, and Ausa fell. Burhān then advanced to Ūdgīr (18° 24' N. and 77° 7' E.) which he captured, and then to Kandhār, 33 miles N. of Ūdgīr. Here he was again attacked by Ibrāhīm and 'Alī Barid but defeated them, captured Kandhār, and returned to Ahmadnagar. Firishṭa in one passage places this campaign in A.H. 952 (A.D., 1545-46).

XLVII.—DEATH OF JAMSHĪD QUTB SHĀH.

At this time Jamshīd Qutb Shāh died,¹¹⁵ and Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk, who was related to the Qutb Shāhī family and was distinguished among all the *amīrs* of the Dakan for his valour and power, raised to the throne one of Jamshīd's sons and ruled the kingdom as an absolute monarch in his name.

The Sayyid Muṣṭafā Khān and the other *amīrs* and officers of state could not endure the domination of Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk, and therefore sent a message to Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh, who was then with Rām Rāj Rāya of Vijayanagar, inviting him to take possession of the throne. Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh marched to Golconda, which is the capital of the kingdom of Telingāna, and Murtaẓā Khān and the *amīrs* hearing of his approach, sped forth to wait on him and to welcome him. Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk, finding himself unable to resist Ibrāhīm and the *amīrs* who had espoused his cause, fled and took refuge with Burhān Nizām Shāh, while Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh ascended the throne in Golconda.

XLVIII.—AN ACCOUNT OF BURHĀN NIZĀM SHĀH'S EXPEDITION AGAINST SHOLĀPUR, OF HIS BATTLE WITH IBRĀHĪM 'ĀDIL SHĀH BEFORE KALIYĀNI, OF THE DEFEAT OF THE ENEMY AND THE CAPTURE OF KALIYĀNI.

It has already been mentioned that Burhān Nizām Shāh, ever since Sholāpur had passed out of his possession into that of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, had been revolving schemes for its recapture, and for taking vengeance on his enemies and that he had been making attempts to recapture it whenever he was unoccupied with other enemies.

In A.H. 954 (A.D. 1547),¹¹⁶ when he found himself unoccupied with any other campaign, he marched with his army to Sholāpur with the object of recapturing it. On reaching Sholāpur he sat down before it and laid siege to the fortress.

Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, trusting to the strength of the fortress and to the extent to which it was garrisoned and provisioned, did not march against Burhān Nizām Shāh, but remained in his capital, and Burhān very soon realized that Ibrāhīm's confidence in the strength of the fortress was not misplaced, and that its capture would be extremely difficult. He therefore thought that it would be better to attack first the fortress of Kaliyāni, which could be captured with greater ease, and having called a council of his *amīrs* and officers of state, acquainted them with his design, which was unanimously approved. The army then abandoned the siege of Sholāpur and marched on to Kaliyāni, and laid siege to that fortress.

When Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh heard that Burhān Nizām Shāh was besieging Kaliyāni in the strength of which place he had no confidence, he marched with a large army to its relief, encamped over against the army of Ahmadnagar, and entrenched himself, besides forming a laager.

¹¹⁵ Jamshīd Qutb Shāh died in A. D. 1550 and Muṣṭafā Khān raised to the throne his infant son Subhān Qulī Qutb Shāh. As the kingdom was ruled in fact by Muṣṭafā, there was much discontent, and Ibrāhīm, Jamshīd's brother, who had taken refuge in Vijayanagar, returned to Golconda (where a strong party supported his claim) and seized the throne.

¹¹⁶ The date of this campaign is most uncertain. Here it is given as A.D. 1547, but is placed after the death of Jamshīd Qutb Shāh, which occurred in A.D. 1550. Firishta (ii. 59) places it after the death of Asad Khān Lārī, which occurred on Jan. 30, 1549 and, in another passage, after the death of Shāh Ṭāhir, which he places in A. H. 956 (A.D. 1549). It seems most probable that the campaign occurred in 1551.

According to some historians, Ibrâhîm 'Adil Shâh reached Kaliyâni before the arrival of Burhân Nizâm Shâh and marched on towards Sholâpûr, halting before he reached that place and entrenching himself as already described, in order to guard against night attacks by Burhân Nizâm Shâh ; but God knows whether this be true or not ; but however this may be, the two armies lay opposite to each other for a long time until grain and other food rose to a very high price in the camp of Burhân Nizâm Shâh, and the *amîrs* and officers of the army, tired of lying inactive before the enemy, had no stomach for fighting, but wished to return to Ahmadnagar. When Burhân Nizâm Shâh heard of this, he summoned Malik 'Ain-ul-Mulk, who had now entered his service, and the other *amîrs*, to a council of war. The king asked 'Ain-ul-Mulk, who was distinguished for wisdom and resourcefulness, as well as for bravery and valour, his opinion on the question of fighting or retiring, and he replied that it would be disgraceful for Burhân Nizâm Shâh's army to retire before Ibrâhîm 'Adil Shâh, and that they should attack the enemy and fight bravely. These words removed all fear from the hearts of *amîrs* and *vazîrs* and they asked that they might be led against the enemy. The king then abandoned the idea of retiring.

XLIX.—THE BATTLE, AND THE CAPTURE OF KALIYÂNI.

On the following day, which was the '*Id-ul-Fitr*,'¹¹⁷ 'Ain-ul-Mulk and the whole army having assembled, as was the custom in the kingdom of Ahmadnagar, on the occasion of '*îds*, appeared before the king to offer him their congratulations. Spies now brought information that the whole of Ibrâhîm 'Adil Shâh's army was asleep and that there were no guards over Ibrâhîm's tents, or even over the laager of waggons which was usually guarded with great care both by night and day, but that all had gone to their quarters to take their ease. Even Ibrâhîm himself, neglecting all precautions, was taking his rest. On receipt of this news, the king ordered an instant attack on the enemy, and the army penetrated to the midst of the camp and laager of the Bijâpûris and took them completely by surprise. No way of escape had been left, and the slaughter was great. Ibrâhîm 'Adil Shâh was bathing when he heard of the attack and was so overcome with fear and trepidation, that he made no attempt to resist it, and had not even time to dress himself, but, naked as he was, mounted a horse and fled precipitately, leaving his umbrella, *âftâbgîr*, and all his insignia of royalty, his crown, throne, tents, sleeping apartments, camp equipage, treasure, furniture, elephants and horses in the hands of the victors. When the army of Bijâpûr saw that their king was fled and that their officers were slain, they made their escape as best they could, pursued by the troops of Ahmadnagar, who slew large numbers of them and took many others captive. Among the prisoners was that chief of renegades, Râi Chaitpâl, who had formerly been in the service of Burhân Nizâm Shâh, but had fled and entered the service of Ibrâhîm 'Adil Shâh. He was executed as an example to other traitors.

The army of Ahmadnagar collected all that Ibrâhîm 'Adil Shâh and his army had left and presented all before Burhân Nizâm Shâh. The king alighted from his horse to render thanks to God for this great victory, and his *amîrs* and officers and his whole army tendered him their congratulations on his victory. Honours were then bestowed on those who had distinguished themselves in the battle, but especially on 'Ain-ul-Mulk, to whom the victory was, in fact, due. The spoils taken from the enemy were abandoned by the king to the army.

¹¹⁷ If the date given in note 116 for this campaign be correct, this was Shawwâl 1. A. H. 958 (Oct. 2, 1551). The mention of 'Ain-ul-Mulk as one of Burhân's principal *amîrs* seems to settle the question, for 'Ain-ul-Mulk did not enter Burhân's service until 1550. The army of Ahmadnagar was reduced to great straits owing to its supplies being cut off by the Marâṭha troops of Bijâpûr.

The *kotwâl* of Kaliyâni was much alarmed by the complete and crushing defeat inflicted on Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, and sent a petition to the royal camp begging that his life and goods might be spared on condition of his surrendering the fortress. Burhân Nizâm Shâh granted these terms and the fort was surrendered. The *kotwâl* and the officers of the garrison came before the king with swords and shrouds suspended round their necks and were honourably received. A robe of honour was granted to the *kotwâl* and he was enrolled among the servants of Burhân Nizâm Shâh. The news of the king's victory over Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh and of his capture of Kaliyâni was noised abroad.

Burhân Nizâm Shâh then appointed one of his trusted officers to the command of Kaliyâni and the government of the country dependent on it, and returned in triumph to his capital, where he passed his time in enjoying himself, in administering justice, and in distributing largesse.¹¹⁸

L.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE TREATY BETWEEN RÂM RÂJ (SADÂSHIVARÂYA) RULER OF VIJAYANAGAR AND BURHÂN NIZÂM SHÂH WITH REGARD TO THE CAPTURE OF THE FORTRESSES OF RÂICHÛR AND SHOLÂPÛR.

A. D. 1552. It has already been mentioned that Burhân Nizâm Shâh was ever meditating the recapture of Sholâpûr. He now, by the advice of some of his officers of state, entered into a treaty with Râm Râj (Sadâshivarâya) of Vijayanagar, by the terms of which he was to assist Sadâshivarâya in taking the fortress of Râichûr from Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh and Sadâshivarâya was, in return for this aid, to assist him in recovering Sholapur from Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh.¹¹⁹

As soon as this treaty had been concluded, Sadâshivarâya assembled a large army and invaded the kingdom of Bijâpûr, and when Burhân Nizâm Shâh heard that he had marched into Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh's dominions, he assembled his army at the capital and marched to Humâyûnpûr, where he halted for some days to complete his arrangements.

When the king was halting at Humâyûnpûr, he heard that the Sayyid, Shâh Haidar, whom he had sent on an embassy to Shâh Tahmâsh, son of Shâh Ismâ'il, Shâh of Persia, had returned, and had landed at the port of Murtaẓâ-âbâd Chanl. The king sent Maulânâ 'Alî Kal Astarâbâdî, one of his most intimate courtiers, to receive Shâh Haidar, and to bring him to court. The army had not marched from Humâyûnpûr when Shâh Haidar arrived and, after having been received with the greatest honour, presented to the king the gifts which he had brought for him from the court of Persia, and a letter written to him by Shâh Tahmâsh.

After this, Burhân Nizâm Shâh gave Shâh Haidar leave to return to Ahmadnagar in order that he might rest there after the fatigues of his journey, and the army marched from Humâyûnpûr towards Râichûr. On the arrival of the army at Raichûr, it was found that

¹¹⁸ Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh I, after his defeat at Kaliyâni, invaded the Ahmadnagar kingdom by another route, laid waste to Bîr and some other districts and, on his homeward journey, appeared suddenly before Paranda, found the gates open, occupied the fort and drove out Khvâja Jahân's garrison. He then placed one of his own Dakanî officers in command of the fortress and retired to Bijâpûr. The Dakanî commandant was a coward and lived in perpetual terror of being attacked by Burhân Nizâm Shâh. One night he was awakened by the buzzing of a mosquito and imagined that he had heard the enemy's trumpets. He leapt out of bed, caused the gates to be opened, and fled in terror, followed by the garrison. Burhân, on his arrival, found the fort empty and occupied. Ibrâhîm caused the Dakanî commandant to be beheaded for his cowardice.

¹¹⁹ Sayyid 'Alî's account of this campaign, which occurred in A. H. 959 (A.D. 1552) is substantially the same as that given by Firishta, who, however, adds that Sadâshivarâya captured both Râichûr and Mudgal.

with 'Âdil Shâh, and had then fled to Gujarât. Makhdûm Khyâja Jahân, having now obtained a passport and safe conduct by the influence of some of the courtiers, joined the court and made his submission to Burhân Nizâm Shâh.

The king decided to restore to Makhdûm Khyâja Jahân, Parenda, which was his fief, and by way of attaching him to himself, to obtain one of his daughters in marriage for Mîrân Shâh Haidar. Having laid the matter before his *amîrs*, he ordered a pavilion fit for the marriage feast to be constructed in that neighbourhood. When this had been completed, the king occupied it and ordered the astrologers to fix an auspicious day for the wedding, and when this had been done, Mîrân Shâh Haidar and the daughter of Makhdûm Khyâja Jahân were married according to the rites of Islâm and a great feast was held. A robe of honour was bestowed on Makhdûm Khyâja Jahân, and the fortress of Parenda was restored to him by an order under the royal seal.

The king passed the rainy season of that year in peace and festivity at Parenda and when the rains were over, re-assembled his army and, having informed Sadâshivarâya of Vijayanagar of his intention, marched against Bijâpûr.

Sadâshivarâya, who had been continuing his unsuccessful siege of Râichûr, when he heard of Burhân Nizâm Shâh's intention, marched on Bijâpûr with his army and joined Burhân Nizâm Shâh before Bijâpûr.¹²⁰

Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, from fear of the army of Ahmadnagar, shut himself up in the citadel of Bijâpûr and was besieged there by the armies of Ahmadnagar and Vijayanagar. The heavy artillery of Ahmadnagar was brought against the citadel and maintained an incessant fire against its walls. Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh was in no wise slothful in his defence of the fortress, but displayed great valour and energy, and thus the siege continued. Every morning the fire of the siege guns began afresh and was silenced only at night.

LII.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE SICKNESS WHICH CAME UPON BURHÂN NIZÂM SHÂH AND CAUSED HIS RETURN FROM BIJÂPÛR.

While the siege was in progress, Burhân Nizâm Shâh fell sick and had to take to his bed. The learned Persian physician Qâsim Beg, who enjoyed great confidence after the king's death, advised him that it was unwise to remain in the field or to continue the siege, and proposed that peace should be made and that the king should return to Ahmadnagar. As this proposition was supported by the *amîrs* and the officers of the army, the king accepted it, and agreed to return to Ahmadnagar and to remain there until God restored his health sufficiently to allow of his attacking Bijâpûr again. He therefore sent a message to Sadâshivarâya informing him of his intention to abandon the siege, and Sadâshivarâya marched from Bijâpûr for Vijayanagar.

Burhân Nizâm Shâh then returned to Ahmadnagar, where he was received with much joy by his subjects, who came to pay their respects to him, but although he took his seat on his throne, his weakness increased day by day and he was attacked by a variety of diseases against which the skill of the physicians was of no avail.

LIII.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE QUARRELS BETWEEN THE PRINCES BEFORE THE DEATH OF BURHÂN NIZÂM SHÂH, AND OF THE END OF THAT AFFAIR.

Historians of the Sultans of the Dakan relate that Burhân Nizâm Shâh had six sons,¹²¹ each of whom was worthy of a crown and a throne. (1) Mîrân Shâh Husain was the eldest son and was superior to his brothers in wisdom, generosity, and bravery. Most of the

¹²⁰ This invasion of the Bijâpûr kingdom, in 1554, is described by Firishta as Burhân Nizâm Shâh's last campaign against Bijâpûr, but according to him Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh did not stand a siege in the citadel of Bijâpûr, but fled to the fortress of Panhâla.

between them, until the king should summon them again to the capital. The king accepted their advice and issued orders accordingly.

Mirân Shâh 'Alî at once obeyed the order and retired to his fort of Pâli; but Mirân 'Abdul Qâdir was suspicious of the motives of the *amîrs* and delayed his departure, hoping that he would be able to remain in the capital until Mirân Shâh Husain had left for Junnâr, and would thus be in a position to make good his claims. Mirân Shâh Husain divined his intention and said that he would not leave the capital until Mirân 'Abdul Qâdir had, in accordance with custom, first departed for Daulatâbâd.

Qâsim Beg and others of the *amîrs* now secretly advised Mirân Shâh Husain not to leave the capital until Mirân 'Abdul Qâdir had departed, but to collect his troops and depart as soon as 'Abdul Qâdir had left, as though he were marching to Junnâr, and then to halt without the city and to await events.

When Mirân 'Abdul Qâdir saw that he could no longer delay his departure, he collected a small body of horse and took the road to Daulatâbâd, but halted in the village of Chamâr Tekri, which was afterwards known as Son Tekri.

Then Mirân Shâh Husain left the fort and assembled his army, and ordered the *daroghas* of the elephant stables to draw up the elephants with their standards and banners. He then marched out of the city in royal state and drew up his army in the plain of Kâlâ Chabûtra, which is near the fort. Then the whole army of the Dakan with its officers and Foreigners, drawn up in order, marched out and joined the prince and made obeisance to him. Although most of the Dakanis had sworn to support Mirân 'Abdul Qâdir, all now joined Mirân Shâh Husain, and not a man shewed any inclination to join the enemy, so that Husain had possession of all the elephants and artillery.

Although Mirân 'Abdul Qâdir found that the armed strength necessary to enable him to gain the kingdom had passed out of his control, he endeavoured to supply the deficiency by valour, and ordered his troops to advance to the attack. Mirân Shâh Husain's army advanced against them and defeated them, and Mirân 'Abdul Qâdir was forced to seek refuge in flight. When the sun set, his followers deserted him and took their separate ways, and his elephants, horses, umbrella, and *âftâbgîr*, fell into the hands of Mirân Shâh Husain. Mirân 'Abdul Qâdir then, with one elephant and a few attendants, made his way with great difficulty, to Berar.

When the enemy was defeated, Mirân Shâh Husain ordered his troops to refrain from pursuing the fugitives, and by way of precaution, kept his army under arms all that night and did not himself dismount till sunset. In the morning he went to pay his respects to his father, who still lived, but was near death. Qâsim Beg told the king that the long-standing enmity between Mirân Shâh Husain and Mirân 'Abdul Qâdir had at length culminated in battle and bloodshed, that Mirân 'Abdul Qâdir had been defeated and had fled to Berar, and that Mirân Shâh Husain had come to pay his respects. The king, whose breathing was laboured, no longer had the power of speech, but he looked on the face of his eldest son and shed tears.

LIV.—THE DEATH OF BURHÂN NIZÂM SHÂH.

After Mirân Shâh Husain had paid his respects to his father, Burhân Nizâm Shâh's spirit took flight for its abode in Paradise, and the *amîrs*, the officers of state, and the ladies of the haram were plunged into grief. The *amîrs*, having arranged for the washing of the late king's body and for the funeral ceremony, buried him in the *Rauzah* garden, which is

the burial place of the NiẒām Shāhī family. The body was afterwards exhumed by order of Husain NiẒām Shāh and was sent to Karhalā where it was buried near the shrine of the Imām Husain. The death of Burhān NiẒām Shāh I occurred, according to the best known accounts, on Muharram 24, A.H. 961, (Dec. 30, 1553). In that year died three great kings who had not their equals in Hindustan, nay, in the whole world, and a learned man wrote the following verses as a chronogram for their death:

'At one time came the decline of three kings from whose justice Hind was the abode of peace.

The first was Mahmūd, king of Gujarāt, who, like his kingdom, was in the pride of youth.

The second was Islim Shāh the king of Dihlī, who in Hindūstān was a lord of the fortunate conjunction;

The third was NiẒām, that Bahri king, who was seated as king in the Dakan. If you ask me the date of the death of these three kings, I answer, "The decline of the kings."¹²³

Burhān NiẒām Shāh thus reigned over the Dakan for fifty years, and his age at the time of his death was 58 years, for he ascended the throne when he was eight years of age, in A.H. 918 (A.D. 1512-13).¹²³ But God knows the truth. Burhān had, according to all accounts, six sons, as has been already mentioned.

When Mirān 'Abdul Qādir fled from Mirān Shāh Husain, he went to Berar in the hope of obtaining assistance from Daryā 'Imād Shāh, who, in obedience to an order from Husain NiẒām Shāh, requested him to leave his country, which he did, and went to Bijāpūr, where he remained until his death under the protection of 'Adil Shāh.

Mirān Shāh 'Alī, who was the grandson of Ismā'īl 'Adil Shāh, was in the fortress of Pāli at the time of Husain NiẒām Shāh's accession, and let himself down from the wall and fled to Bijāpūr. Here he assumed the umbrella and *āstābqir* of royalty and marched to Sholāpūr, but was defeated by Husain's army and returned to Bijāpūr, as will be described hereafter. Mirān Shāh 'Alī, like Mirān 'Abdul Qādir, spent the rest of his life in Bijāpūr and died there.

Mirān Muḥammad Bāqir was imprisoned in the fortress of Chāndūr in the early part of the reign of Husain NiẒām Shāh and remained there until the reign of Murtaẓā NiẒām Shāh I, when he was released by the command of that king and went to Bijāpūr where he still (A.H. 1000=A.D. 1591-92) lives.

Mirān Shāh Haidar, having been disappointed of assistance from Naṣir-ul-Mulk and Makhdūm Khujā Jahān, joined his brothers in Bijāpūr, and there died.

LV.—THE CHARACTER OF BURHĀN NIẒĀM SHĀH.

Sayyid 'Alī, after praising Burhān NiẒām Shāh for his generosity, his valour, his conversion to the Shi'ah faith, his invariable success in war, and other qualities, enumerates

¹²³ This chronogram is very well-known and is quoted with variations, by several historians. It was composed by Maulānā Ghulām 'Alī 'Inidūr Shāh, father of the historian Firishta. A better reading of the first homistich of the fourth couplet is, "The third was NiẒām-ul-Mulk Bahri." The chronogram is زوال خسروان ("the decline of the Kings") giving the date 961. Sayyid 'Alī very carelessly gives it here as فوت خسروان ("the death of the Kings") which gives the impossible date 1403. The two kings besides Burhān were Mahmūd III of Gujarāt and Islām Shāh, son of Shīr Shāh, of Dihlī. The name of the latter is usually corrupted, by *imḍlah*, into Islim, and sometimes Salim.

Muharram 24, 961, seems to be too early a date for Burhān's death, for according to Firishta (ii. 234) it was not until A. H. 961 that he set out for Bijāpūr; but perhaps Firishta's date is wrong.

¹²³ See page 38, where Sayyid 'Alī places Ahmad's death and Burhān's accession in A.H. 911 (A.D. 1505-06).

the forts which he captured.¹²⁴ He explains that in the Dakan, *qal'ah* means a fort built on a hill, and *hiṣār*, a fort built on a plain. The enumeration is as follows :—(1) the hill fort of Rola Chola, (2) the hill fort of Kāchtān, (3) the hill fort of Kātra, (4) the hill fort of Ānkī, (5) the hill fort of Kondhāna, (6) the hill fort of Purandhar, (7) the hill fort of Rohera, (8) the hill fort of Kherdrug, (9) the hill fort of Alang-Karang, (10) the hill fort of Rāmsej, (11) the hill fort of Aundhyātya, (12) the hill fort of Mārkhonda, (13) the hill fort of Kohej, (14) the hill fort of Bola, (15) the hill fort of Hāholi, (16) the hill fort of Trimbak, (17) the hill fort of Anjīr, (18) the hill fort of Bhorap, (19) the hill fort of Karkara, (20) the hill fort of Haris, (21) the hill fort of Jūdhan, (22) the hill fort of Antūr, (23) the hill fort of Gālana, (24) the hill fort of Chāndher, (25) the hill fort of Rājdhher, (26) the hill fort of Pālī, (27) the hill fort of Ratangarh, (28) the hill fort of Dhorap-Wānki, (29) the hill fort of Vanjarāi, (30) the fort of Anhawant, (31) the fort of Salāpūr, (32) the fort of Parenda, (33) the fort of Qandahār, (34) the fort of AUSA, (35) the fort of Kaliyāni, (36) the fort of Mānikpunj, (37) the fort of Kodeval, (38) the fort of Ketra, (39) the fort of Bodherā, (40) the fort of Erkā, (41) the fort of Sitondā, (42) the fort of Taltam, (43) the fort of Tānker, (44) the fort of Lohogarh, (45) the fort of Moranjan, (46) the fort of Kāwanī, (47) the fort of Berwāri, (48) the fort of Karnāla, (49) the fort of Sātkasa, (50) the fort of Morkel, (51) the fort of Anwas, (52) the fort of Hātka, (53) the fort of Tabākabhā, (54) the fort of Taltam Batyāla, (55) Koldeosher, (56) Rājdeoher, (57) Bhisā Anker, (58) Trimbak Banesa.

Of these forts Antūr and Gālana, by reason of the rebellion of Bahārjī and Dānya, their commandants, passed out of the possession of Burhān Nizām Shāh at the time when he marched to assist Sadāshivarāya in the siege of Rāichūr, but were recaptured in the reign of Husain Nizām Shāh, as will be related hereafter.

Burhān Nizām Shāh built many buildings and laid out many gardens, among them the buildings and gardens of the fort of Ahmadnagar, which were named Baghdād and were the royal residence. These buildings and gardens were very fine.

There was also the beautiful garden of the old *kāriz* which was completed by Malik Ahmad Tabrizi. The king also built the almshouse of the twelve Imāms, and other mosques and colleges.¹²⁵

Burhān Nizām Shāh was in the habit of taking counsel with his *amīrs*, ministers and officers of state before entering on any enterprise and in all matters of administration. His most intimate counsellors were Shāh Tāhir, Kāmil Khān, Miyān Rāja, Partāb Rāi, and some others. If any one of these happened to be absent when any matter was discussed, the arguments were, by the king's command, repeated to him by the other counsellors and he was called upon for his opinion. After Shāh Tāhir's death I'tibār Khān was admitted to the king's privy council.

¹²⁴ I have not translated Sayyid 'Alī's encomium of Burhān Nizām Shāh I, which is long and fulsome, nor have I attempted to identify all the forts here enumerated. It is probable that the text is corrupt in some places. Some of the forts have been noticed before. No. 4, Ānkī, is probably Ānkāi situated in 20°9' N. and 74°28' E. No. 9 should be Alang-Kulang, twin forts situated in 19°35' N. and 73°40' E. No. 16, Trimbak, is situated in 19°56' N. and No. 36, Mānikpunj, in 20°13' N. and 74°44' E. No. 48, Karnāla, is perhaps Girnāre, situated in 20°4' N. and 73°39' E.

¹²⁵ The Baghdād palace was built on the site of the building in which Burhān had seen the vision of Muḥammad and the Imāms. The garden of the old *kāriz*, or underground watercourse, was afterwards known as the *Bāgh-i-Hasht Bihisht*, or "garden of the eight heavens." The almshouse of the twelve Imāms was plundered by a zealous Sunni officer of the imperial army during the siege of Ahmadnagar, by Sulṭān Murād and the Khānkhānān.

Barhān Nizām Shāh was very merciful, and in punishing wrong-doers, never acted hastily or without careful consideration. His forbearance was great, for many times 'Abdul Qādir, instigated by ill-disposed persons who hated the religion of the twelve Imāms, plotted against his life and sometimes even came to court with the intention of making an attempt on his father's life, but though all this was discovered to the king, he never made any attempt to seize and imprison the conspirators, but ignored them. He used, however, to tell Mirān Shāh Ḥusain, in whom he had the greatest confidence, of this matter; and when he went to his private apartments to take his ease, Mirān Shāh Ḥusain always mounted guard there, and whenever 'Abdul Qādir made any attempt to enter, he was frustrated by his elder brother.

Another of Barhān Nizām Shāh's characteristics was his exact and methodical apportionment of his time, both for business and amusements. When he had finished his morning prayers, the jesters would appear, and the king would amuse himself for a while with them. Then he would dress, and the *maḥalladārs*¹²⁶ would come, and he would continue to amuse himself with jesting until the councillors arrived. After sitting with his councillors, he would mount his horse and ride forth and inspect the elephant stables, the stables and the workshops, and would approve what was being done well and point out what was being done ill. He would then return and have his morning meal and would amuse himself the while with jesting. After the meal he would transact business of state, and decide cases inquiring personally into all administrative and revenue matters, and also into all questions of holy law, with the help of the learned men who were present. Religious discussions often took place at court and the king often discussed ably on religious questions, so that the guests at this feast of reason and flow of soul found ample food provided. Learned men and disputants, officers in charge of departments, all assembled. The officers got the orders, which they had ready, past the signet and made their representations regarding them; the learned men held disputations, and musicians and singers of Hindūstān and Khurās enlivened both the ear and the wit by their music and songs. The king used to speak on all subjects in such wise that all who heard him were delighted, and he would put aside all ceremony. He would then retire for a short time to rest, and when he awoke, the musicians and singers would again be summoned and he would sit and listen to them and talk with them, and make interpolations in their songs, and jest with them. In the afternoon he would go to his prayers again, and when the lamps were lit, the courtiers, councillors, and officers of state again assembled, and until the fourth hour of the night were engaged in discussing and deciding affairs of state and in relating anecdotes and uttering witticisms. After these had been dismissed, the mines were sometimes brought in, and the king would engage in discourse with them till ten o'clock. Sometimes again the camp boys would be brought in and set to wrestle with one another and to abuse one another, when they would use expressions which both delighted and astonished the king. At one, or two o'clock, the king would retire to rest, and again, when the sun rose, the same round of duties and pleasures would follow. The king never departed from this routine, and even in the field, when the officers of the guard had to attend for orders, and when writing had to be done at night in the matter of issuing orders for the drawing up of troops, neither these duties, nor the daily round already mentioned were neglected. The king would ride out and inspect in person the defences, the gun-carriages and waggons and the positions of all the troops in camp, lest intervals should be left unguarded, and would issue orders to remedy defects. Nothing escaped his eye and nobody could venture to be out of his place by a hair's breadth, or to display

¹²⁶ *Maḥalladārs* were either officers in charge of quarters of the city or Governors of rural districts, probably, in this case, the former.

any lack of vigilance. At all great feasts, on birth-days, and especially on the birthday of the prophet, great banquets were held, at which food and drink of various kinds were served to the whole army. The Sayyids, from the love which the king had to the house of the prophet, were specially honoured, for he poured water over their hands himself. This laudable custom established by Burhân Nizâm Shâh is still (A.H. 1000=A.D. 1591-92) observed by his successors. Every petition presented during the days on which these feasts were held received the king's special attention, and it rarely failed of receiving a favourable reply, no matter from whom it came, and gifts and robes of honour were freely distributed. These customs are still observed by the Nizâm Shâhî dynasty.

LVI.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE ACCESSION OF AL MU'AYYAD MIN'AND-ILLÂH
HUSAIN NIZÂM SHÂH.

When Mirân Shâh Husain's mind had been completely freed from anxiety regarding Mirân 'Abdul Qâdir (who would not be satisfied with anything less than the throne of Ahmadnagar) and the other rebels, and when Burhân Nizâm Shâh had died, the *amîrs* and officers of state, and all the army and the people were unanimous in swearing allegiance to Husain Nizâm Shâh; and the astrologers exercised great care in selecting an auspicious hour for his ascent of the throne. When the hour had been selected, he ascended the throne and assumed the crown. He distributed largesse to all, small and great, high and low. The *amîrs*, *vazîrs* and officers of state and all the army and people appeared before him, made their obeisance to him, and acclaimed him as king. Hakîm Qâsim Beg was appointed chief minister.

It was now reported to the king that Mirân 'Abdul Qâdir had taken refuge with Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh, relying on his assistance owing to the connection by marriage that existed between them and that Mirân Shâh Haïdar also, relying on his father-in-law, Maḥḥdûm Khvâja Jahân, for help, was on the point of rising in rebellion. Naṣîr-ul-Mulk also, who had been confined, by Burhân Nizâm Shâh's command, in the fortress of Kondâna, contrived to escape from prison, and proposed to join Mirân Shâh Haïdar in his rebellion. Husain Nizâm Shâh resolved to attack and disperse these rebels before they could receive support from Maḥḥdûm Khvâja Jahân. He therefore placed his tutor, Maulânâ Shâh Muḥammad who had become one of his intimate courtiers, in command of a body of troops. Khurâsânîs and others, and sent him against the rebels with instructions to devote his attention chiefly to Naṣîr-ul-Mulk. Maulânâ Shâh Muḥammad marched by night from Ahmadnagar and travelled with such speed that by the morning he had arrived at Naṣîr-ul-Mulk's camp. As soon as Naṣîr-ul-Mulk heard of the approach of the royal troops, he realized that he could not withstand them and fled precipitately. Maulânâ Shâh Muḥammad at once pursued him. He came up with him, and one of the royal officers slew Naṣîr-ul-Mulk with a spear and severed his head from his body. Thus the land of the Dakan was freed from the defilement of his existence. Maulânâ Shâh Muḥammad then returned to court and presented the head of the rebel to the king.

Husain Nizâm Shâh then caused a letter to be written to Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh, with whom Mirân 'Abdul Qâdir had taken refuge, setting forth that friendship had always existed between the Nizâm Shâhî and 'Imâd Shâhî dynasties, and that it would be a pity if it were broken. The letter went on to say that Husain Nizâm Shâh had heard that Mirân 'Abdul Qâdir who, although his brother, was a rebel, had taken refuge in Berar and was expecting help from Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh, and requested that he might be expelled from that country. On receipt of the letter, Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh asked Mirân 'Abdul Qâdir to leave Berar.

LVII.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE CAUSES OF MAKHDÛM KHYÂJA JAHÂN'S REBELLION
AGAINST HUSAIN NIZÂM SHÂH, OF THE CONQUEST OF PARENDA, AND OF THE
DOWNFALL OF KHYÂJA JAHÂN'S FAMILY.

Makhdûm Khyâja Jahân was, as has been said, the father-in-law of Mirân Shâh Haidar and held the fortress of Parenda and all its dependenciees. After the death of Burhân Nizâm Shâh, he believed that an opportunity of making himself independent of Ahmadnagar had come to him, and with this object in view, he determined to place his son-in-law on the throne of Ahmadnagar.

When Husain Nizâm Shâh had disposed of his misguided brothers, all the people and the army, and the provincial governors and commandants of forts, had submitted themselves to him, and had sent him the keys of the treasuries and of the forts, and there no longer remained any cause for anxiety in any part of the kingdom. The king was thus able to devote his whole attention to crushing Makhdûm Khyâja Jahân, and summoned his counsellors in order that they might advise him in the matter. They agreed that as Makhdûm Khyâja Jahân had not made his submission and had offered neither his condolences on the death of Burhân Nizâm Shâh nor his congratulations on the accession of Husain Nizâm Shâh, he had undoubtedly been guilty of acts of rebellion. They advised that an envoy should be sent to summon him to court in order that he might answer for his misdeeds, and that in the event of his failing to appear, he should be proceeded against as a rebel. The king therefore ordered that a letter of warning should be written to Makhdûm Khyâja Jahân. A letter was written in the following terms:—'God Most High has mercy on that slave who realizes his position. Now, by the grace of God, all the countries of Hindûstân, and indeed of the inhabited world, are in the possession of the slaves of Husain Nizâm Shâh, and the whole earth and all the sons of Adam, its inhabitants, are subservient to his will. If Makhdûm Khyâja Jahân is a faithful subject, how is it that he still remains without the pale of faithful subjects and has hitherto performed no act of obedience or submission? If he now makes his submission as a faithful servant and asks pardon for his past faults, making reparation therefor, he will save himself from the vengeance which will otherwise be taken on him; but should he fail to do these things, he will be guilty of self-destruction. Let him therefore beware of transgressing the bounds which have been set for him, and of continuing to stretch his hand beyond the skirt of submission and obedience, lest the guilt of much innocent blood be upon his head.' When this letter had been written, it was carried quickly by some of the king's wise and trusted servants to Parenda.

When the envoy reached Parenda and delivered his missive, Makhdûm Khyâja Jahân was much perplexed as to the course of action to be followed. He was still indisposed to admit the supremacy of Husain Nizâm Shâh and yet dared not openly defy him, while he was resolved not to travel to court to do homage. He therefore sent a reply full of prevarication, saying that as long as he was suspected of rebellion, fear and apprehension prevented him from presenting himself at court, but that he was still, as ever, the king's faithful slave, and if the king would, for the present, excuse his personal attendance and would continue to bestow his favours upon him, he would certainly at a later date attend at court and make obeisance.

When Makhdûm Khyâja Jahân's reply was received at court, the king addressed his *amîrs* on the subject, and said that the rebel's ill intentions were now manifest to all, not by way of suspicion, but by direct evidence, and that policy demanded that he should be

instantly suppressed, as any dallying with sedition or rebellion only allowed it time to come to a head and to disorder the whole state. The *amîrs* and officers applauded the king's decision and promised to do their utmost in carrying it out. Orders for the assembling of the army were issued, and the whole army, both Foreigners and Dakanis, mustered in strength at the capital, and the king set forth to take Parenda. He sent on an advanced guard under one of the most experienced *amîrs*, and the whole army followed this advanced guard by forced marches.

When Makhdûm Khyâja Jahân heard of the approach of the royal army, he came forth from his fortress with his army, and, having taken up a defensible position, sent his spies into the royal camp in order that he might be informed of the king's movements; but, on hearing at midnight, that the royal army was near him, he fled with the speed of lightning into the fort of Parenda, and then, after having taken an affecting farewell of his family and having appointed one of his relations to the command of the fort, continued his flight and took refuge with Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh.

The advanced guard of the royal army arrived at Parenda just after Makhdûm Khyâja Jahân had left it, and at once proceeded to besiege the fortress. At sunrise the main body of the royal army arrived and encamped before the fortress. The king then ordered that the balistae should be mounted and that the trenches and breastworks should be constructed; and the fort was attacked with great determination. The garrison, relying on the great strength of the fortress, defended it bravely, and the fighting throughout the day was very fierce. The next day the royal troops again attacked the fortress, while the garrison lined the walls to defend it. This continued for some days and there was still no sign of the resolution of the defenders giving way. The king then ordered the heavy guns to be brought up to the edge of the ditch, in order that they might pound the walls from there. The walls were thus soon breached and the royal army poured in through the breaches and slew many of the garrison. The remainder then surrendered and the king granted them their lives and the lives of their wives and families, and ordered that their property should not be plundered.

The king, having captured the fortress, appointed one of his officers commandant, and ordered that its breaches should be repaired. Thus in a short time Parenda became stronger than ever it had been before. The king then returned to Ahmadnagar and, reaching the capital, bestowed large gifts on the holy men and Sayyids of the city.

LVIII.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISPATCH OF SOME OF THE AMÎRS TO BERAR IN ORDER TO PUT DOWN THE TRAITOR TUFÂL KHÂN. ¹²⁷

Tufâl Khân was a base fellow of the kingdom of Berar who had, by some strange freak of fortune, acquired the confidence of (Daryâ) 'Imâd Shâh and had attained to the position of Amîr-ul-Umara, nay *vakîl* and *pîshvâ*, and thus held all power in the state. When he found that the whole kingdom, the army, and the people were subservient to him, he was filled with pride and meditated rebellion and treachery, desiring to obtain the kingdom of his master and benefactor for himself. He went so far as openly to oppose and defy Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh, who, finding himself unable to cope with the rebel, sought help from Husain Nizâm Shâh, and Husain, who was ever ready to suppress rebellion and was specially inclined to crush this particular rebel, sent an army under some of the *amîrs*, Farhâd Khân, Raughâr Khân, Miyân Sâlâr, Daulat Khân, and others, to Berar, for this purpose.

When Tufāl Khān heard of the approach of this army, he was overcome with terror and fled before it. The *amīrs* pursued him and allowed him no rest in any place in Berar until at length he fled in fear to Burhānpūr. When Daryā 'Imād Shāh was thus freed of his enemy, he gave the *amīrs* leave to depart, and they returned with the army to Ahmadnagar where they were honoured for their services by Husain Niẓām Shāh.

LIX.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE CAUSES OF THE STRIFE BETWEEN IBRĀHĪM 'ĀDIL SHĀH I. AND HUSAIN NIẒĀM SHĀH I., AND OF THE VICTORY OF THE LATTER OVER THE FORMER BEFORE SHOLĀPŪR.

Most of Husain Niẓām Shāh's brothers, who had deemed themselves the heirs of the kingdom and worthy of the crown, had, through fear of the king's all-subduing sword, fled and taken refuge with Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, and in his dominions were continually plotting against the peace of the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. Some also of the most trusted *amīrs* of Burhān Niẓām Shāh, such as Farhād Khān, Shujā'at Khān, and Khurshīd Khān, who secretly supported Mirzā 'Abdul Qādir's claims, had only submitted to Husain Niẓām Shāh and owned him as their king as a matter of policy. These *amīrs* now entered into an engagement with Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I., promising that if he would lead an army into the kingdom of Ahmadnagar with the object of deposing Husain Niẓām Shāh and placing one of his brothers on the throne, they would desert Husain Niẓām Shāh and join his standard. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, instigated by these *amīrs* broke the peace that had existed between Ahmadnagar and Bijāpūr, and, regardless of the horrors of war into which his own subjects and those of Ahmadnagar would be plunged, took Mirzā Shāh 'Alī, who was his sister's son and the brother of Husain Niẓām Shāh, and invaded the kingdom of Ahmadnagar with the object of conquering it.

When Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh thus broke the bonds of friendship at the instigation of the disloyal *amīrs* of Ahmadnagar and with the help of Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk who was distinguished for his bravery among the *amīrs* of all the kingdoms of the Dakan and had been one of the *amīrs* of Ahmadnagar in the reign of Burhān Niẓām Shāh, and had, as has been mentioned, been instrumental in capturing the fortress of Keliyāni, he marched to Sholāpūr with a very large army and besieged that fortress. When news of the invasion of the country by Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh was brought to Ahmadnagar, Husain Niẓām Shāh assembled a secret council of his officers. In this council Qā'im Beg, the physician, who was now *rūlā* and *pīshcā*, said that the matter of most urgent importance was that of the enemies of the state who were the guise of friendship, the treacherous *amīrs*, and that the king should first deal with them and afterwards consider what could be done against the invaders. The king approved of this advice and issued orders that the traitors should be immediately seized and blinded. In accordance with these orders, Farhād Khān, Shujā'at Khān and Khurshīd Khān were thrown into prison and blinded with sharp irons, for they were the leaders of the conspiracy. Faithful servants of the king were then promoted to the positions lately held by the traitors and received their titles, lands and troops.¹²⁸

The king then sent Shāh Rafī'ud-dīn Husain, who was the eldest son of the late Shāh Tāhīr, as an ambassador to Daryā 'Imād Shāh, in order that the treaty between the two kingdoms might be renewed and that Daryā 'Imād Shāh might, as formerly, join the royal

¹²⁸ According to Firishṭa, the attempts of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh to seduce the *amīrs* of Ahmadnagar from their allegiance to Husain were unsuccessful. These *amīrs* probably belonged to the Sunni party, which favoured the pretensions of 'Abdul Qādir. Matters were probably simplified for Husain by the number of pretenders. These were 'Abdul Qādir, supported by the Sunni party, Shāh Haidar, supported by his father-in-law, Khwāja Jahān of Sholāpūr, and Shāh 'Alī, supported by his maternal uncle, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I.

Husain's army pursued the defeated Bijâpûris and slew large numbers of them. All the elephants and horses, and the insignia of royalty of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, fell into the hands of the victors, who also captured all the tents and camp equipage of the defeated army and a large quantity of arms and armour. All the spoils were produced before the king. It is said that 500 elephants were taken, and the amount of the other spoils can thus be estimated *ex ungue leonem*. Husain Nizâm Shâh retained the elephants but allowed the troops to retain all the rest of the plunder, and the slaves.

After Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh had fled from the field, leaving 'Ain-ul-Mulk in the lurch, 'Ain-ul-Mulk became suspicious of him, and instead of returning to Bijâpûr went straight to Mîrâj,¹³² which was his *jâgîr*, and there employed himself in collecting and organizing an army strong enough to resist any that might be brought against him by Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh. Other *amîrs* of Bijâpûr, following the example of 'Ain-ul-Mulk, openly defied their master, and Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, finding himself too weak to oppose 'Ain-ul-Mulk, appealed to Sadâshivarâya of Vijayanagar, who sent an army to his assistance. Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk, who was unable to withstand both Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh and Sadâshivarâya, appealed to Husain Nizâm Shâh for a safe conduct. His coming to Ahmadnagar and his death will be related hereafter.

After thus defeating his enemies, Husain Nizâm Shâh returned in triumph to Ahmadnagar with his spoils.

LX.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE ROYAL HUNTING EXCURSION AND OF THE CAPTURE OF THE FORTS OF GÂLNA AND ANTÛR FROM THE INFIDELS.

A.D. 1555. When the king's mind was at ease regarding Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, who had received a lesson, he rested for a while, and then set forth with his army on a sporting excursion, to hunt the beasts of the forest and the birds of the air. Game was plentiful and sport was good, and the king marched through the country enjoying the sport, until he reached the neighbourhood of the fort of Antûr.

In the latter days of the reign of Burhân Nizâm Shâh, at the time when that king marched to assist Sadâshivarâya in besieging Râichûr Dânya Rûi Râi, the commandant of Antûr had rebelled against him and had refused to recognise him as his king, and Bahârjiû, following his example, had captured Gâlna, one of the forts of the kingdom, from the garrison placed there by Burhân Nizâm Shâh, and had since held it on his own account. Various circumstances had caused delay in the punishment of these two rebels. Now that the royal army approached Antûr, Dânya Rûi Râi became alarmed, and leaving some of his relations and dependants in the fort with instructions to hold it as long as possible, fled.

Husain Nizâm Shâh now desired to capture this fortress, and ordered the army to attack it. The troops surrounded the hill on which was built the fort to which the infidels trusted as a safe place of refuge, and sought everywhere for a path by which it might be ascended, but without success. At length a steep and narrow glen was discovered, which

¹³² When Ibrâhîm reached Bijâpûr, he shut himself up in the citadel and refused to see Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk. His messenger was ill-treated and Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk was told that he was an unprofitable, if not a disloyal servant. Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk then marched to the Mân river and began plundering the autumn crops. His nephew, Salâbat Khân defeated a force of 5,000 horse sent against him and Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk himself defeated a second force, of 10,000, under Dilâvar Khân, the African, and then Ibrâhîm himself, who was forced to flee back to Bijâpûr followed by Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk. Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk made a night attack on the Hindu army, commanded by Venkatâdri, brother of Sadâshivarâya but was defeated by the Hindus, who were on the alert,

was the only path to the fortress, and was so situated that it was, in truth, little more than a narrow passage for stones which could be rolled down from the walls above it. As this, however, was the only way to the fortress, the troops rushed up the narrow cleft, only to be met with showers of rocks and stones which were heaved over the wall of the fort. Many were killed by these stones and by the arrows shot by the infidels from the fortress. Husain NiẒām Shāh bethought himself of his artillery, which he considered, might be of some use against this fortress, as the defences above the cleft might be breached and destroyed by guns. He therefore sent for his artillery and caused the guns to be laid on the bastions above the cleft, which was the one vulnerable spot in the defences. The guns played on the bastion until it was breached and destroyed, and the defenders, when they saw that the bastion on which all their hopes depended, was destroyed and that a way into the fort was now open, saw that submission to the king was the only thing left for them. They were granted their lives, liberty, and property. The king then made one of his officers commandant of the fort and marched thence to take vengeance on the infidels of Gālṇa. Having encamped before Gālṇa, which is an exceedingly strong fortress built of dressed stones, he laid siege to it. The garrison of Gālṇa, who had seen how Antūr had fallen after the guns had been brought against it, were alarmed when the fort was surrounded by the royal army, and sent a messenger to Bahārjiyū, who was the governor of that fort and of the mountainous district around it, to say that the royal army had arrived before the fort and was besieging it, and that as they despaired of being able to hold the fort, they were of opinion that their best course was to make their submission to the king. As Bahārji saw nothing for it but to make his submission, he sent an envoy to the king with valuable gifts of merchandise, rich stuffs, jewels, and horses, and completely humbled himself. When the envoy arrived and, by means of the *amīrs*, was admitted to an audience, he presented the tribute sent by Bahārji, and immediately afterwards the garrison of Gālṇa came forth, made their submission and presented the keys of the fortress to the king. Both the envoy and the garrison were favourably received and honourably entreated, and the king then appointed one of his officers commandant of the fort, with orders to see to the necessary repairs, to hold the fort securely, and to treat the inhabitants of the district well. The king then returned to his capital.

In the third year of Husain NiẒām Shāh's reign (A.H. 963—A.D. 1555-56) the royal army did not leave the capital and the year was spent by the king in ease and enjoyment. By the royal command founders broke up the guns named Shāh *Qal'ah Kushā*, and *Qal'ah Shikan* ¹³³ and made from them the gun named *Husain Shāhi*.

At this time the misguided Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk, who had deserted Ahmadnagar for Bījāpūr and had ever since done his utmost to stir up strife between the kingdoms, sent a messenger to court to signify his desire of making his obeisance and submitting once more to the Sultān of Ahmadnagar and to ask for a safe conduct in order that he might travel without anxiety to Ahmadnagar to do homage, for by this time the friendship between him and 'Ibrāhīm 'Alī Shāh had been changed to enmity and he could find no resting place in the kingdom of Bījāpūr, as has already been mentioned.

Husain NiẒām Shāh sent some of his trusted officers with a safe conduct to summon Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk to court, for he conceived this to be the policy best suited to the time. Husain NiẒām Shāh now heard that the people of Gujarāt had sent letters to Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk, offering him the throne of that kingdom as Sultan Maḥmūd, ¹³⁴ who had been king

¹³³ "The royal fort, opener," and "the fort breaker."

¹³⁴ I have not been able to discover elsewhere any mention of an offer of the throne of Gujarāt to Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk, and it is improbable that it was made.

had formerly been in the service of Malik Barîd and had entered the service of Ahmadnagar at the suggestion of his late majesty, as already described, was appointed *vazîr*.¹³⁶

When Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh had left Gulbarga for his capital, Husain Nizâm Shâh perceived that it would be unwise to tarry any longer and marched to Ahmadnagar. On his arrival there, he summoned Qâsim Beg before him and compelled him to retire to his own lands, but after a short while he again bestowed his favour upon him and reappointed him to the post of *vakîl* and *pîshvâ*. At the same time Maulânâ 'Inâyatullâh, relying on a safe conduct sent him by the king, returned from Telingâna to Ahmadnagar and was again admitted to the royal service.

LXII.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE MARRIAGE BETWEEN DAULAT SHÂH BEGUM, DAUGHTER OF DARYÂ 'IMÂD SHÂH, AND HUSAIN NIZÂM SHÂH.

A.D. 1559. When Husain Nizâm Shâh, for the reasons already given, had abandoned his project of capturing Gulbarga and was again seated on his throne at Ahmadnagar, it occurred to him that it would be sound policy to cement and renew the alliance which had existed between himself and Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh by a marriage. He therefore summoned his advisers and took counsel with them in this matter. They applauded the proposal, and Maulânâ Alî Mâzandarânî was sent as an ambassador, with numerous and costly gifts, to Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh. He succeeded in arranging an alliance between Husain Nizâm Shâh and Daulat Shâh Begum, daughter of Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh, and it was agreed that the parties should meet at the town of Sonpet,¹³⁷ which was afterwards called 'Ishratâbâd.

A.D. 1559. Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh and Husain Nizâm Shâh marched to the appointed place of meeting; they encamped on the two banks of the river of victory and river Biyûr, and the marriage festivities began. There was much drinking, feasting and merriment, and at length, in an auspicious hour, the marriage was celebrated according to the rites of the holy law, and the *amîrs* scattered largesse and offered congratulations. After the consummation of the marriage, the two kings met once more and then each returned with great pomp to his capital.

¹³⁶ This account of the siege of Gulbarga does not differ materially from those given by Firishṭa and the author of the *Târikh : Muḥammad Quṭb Shâhî*, except that Sayyid 'Alî represents Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh I as still reigning in Bijâpûr, whereas he had died before the siege opened, and it is probable that it was his death that encouraged the allies to attack Bijâpûr, for the accession of his elder son, Alî, who was a Shi'ah, led to disturbances. 'Alî appealed for aid to Sadâshivarâya of Vijayanagar and, according to the *T.M.Q.S.*, went to Vijayanagar himself to seek it. Sadâshivarâya responded to his appeal and actually marched from his capital to relieve Gulbarga, sending a message to Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh to the effect that he would do well to abandon his alliance with Husain Nizâm Shâh and retire to his capital. Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh had two good reasons for giving ear to the advice of Sadâshivarâya; first, he was under an obligation to him for the protection afforded to him before he ascended the throne, and secondly, his southern frontier marched with the dominions of Vijayanagar and was open to attack throughout its length. According to the *T.M.Q.S.*, he had heard that Tirumala, younger brother of Sadâshivarâya, had already invaded his kingdom and was laying waste the Pângul district.

The *T.M.Q.S.* differs from all other authorities in stating that Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh did not suddenly desert his ally, but at his request met Sadâshivarâya and 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh I in the bed of the Krishna and arranged the terms of peace, but this account is belied by Husain Nizâm Shâh's subsequent treatment of Qâsim Beg and by the apprehensions which led 'Inâyatullâh Nâyrâfi to flee to Golconda.

¹³⁷ Sonpet is on the Wân, in 19° 2' N. and 70° 29' E. The closer alliance with Berar was a reply to the alliance between Bijâpûr and Vijayanagar.

through the kingdom of Ahmadnagar and the army of Vijaynagar plundered and devastated the whole country through which it passed. When the news of the approach of these armies was brought to Husain Nizām Shāh by the fugitives from the districts through which they had passed, the king summoned his advisers and took counsel with them regarding the plan to be adopted. They advised the king, as the army of the enemy largely outnumbered that of Ahmadnagar and was too strong to be successfully withstood, to abandon the capital with his army and to remain in the country where he was not likely to be overtaken, owing to the slowness of the enemy's movements, and where he could amuse himself with hunting. They said that this policy should be continued until the rainy season, when, owing to the rain and the mud, and to the impossibility of obtaining supplies, the enemy would not be able to remain in the country and would either flee or sue for peace.

The king, following this advice, placed a garrison of picked men, well provided with artillery and other munitions of war, in the fort of Ahmadnagar, and then, with the rest of his army, crossed the Godāvari and made Paithan his headquarters. Immediately after his departure, Sadāshivarāya arrived at Ahmadnagar with the army of Vijayanagar and encamped before the fortress, and the Hindūs began to plunder the country, to overthrow the dwellings of the people, and to persecute the poor among the Muslims. Sadāshivarāya, 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, and Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh remained thus for some time at Ahmadnagar laying waste all the country round about; and then the rains broke with great violence. The mud and mire were so deep that the troops could not move and the elephants began to die for want of fodder. Meanwhile, the army of Ahmadnagar began to harass the enemy by attacking the outskirts of the camp and slaying all whom they found, until none dare venture forth. Sadāshivarāya then ordered Sadāshiva Nāik, one of the chief officers of the army of Vijayanagar, to take his troops and harry the country as far as the Godāvari, saying all whom he met; but spies brought information of this design to the king. The king sent an army of 'Irāqī and Khurāsānī horsemen under Mavālī Khān, Sanjar Khān, Daulat Khān, Dastūr Khān, Vazīr Khān and Sātya to intercept the Hindūs, and free the earth from their foul existence. This force came upon the Hindūs near the town of Jāmgāon and, after a determined battle, defeated them. The infidels had much difficulty in saving their lives by flight, and many horses, arms and standards fell into the hands of the army of Islam, who encamped on the battlefield. At this time Mīr Husain, brother of Yughrish Khān, arrived and brought news that the accursed Bhōpāl Rāi, who had been appointed by the king to the command of the fortress of Kaliyāni, had surrendered that fortress to the enemy. When this news was brought to the king, he decided, in accordance with the advice of his counsellors, to make peace with Sadāshivarāya, and sent Maulānā 'Alī Māzandarānī to Kaliyāni in order that he might secure the property of all the king's servants and surrender the fort. He also returned to Sadāshivarāya the horses and arms which had been captured at Jāmgāon and recalled the troops from Jāmgāon to the royal camp. Kaliyāni was surrendered to the officers of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh and Sadāshivarāya then retired from the neighbourhood of Ahmadnagar and Husain Nizām Shāh returned to the capital and repaired the damage which had been done by the infidels. And at this time the king devoted special attention to the strengthening of the fortress of Ahmadnagar, which was known as *Bāgh-i-Nizām*, and had been built of brick in mud, and he rebuilt the fortress of hard stone, and strengthened it so that it was superior to any fort of the kind.

LXV.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE SECOND TREATY ENTERED INTO BY IBRĀHĪM QUTB SHĀH WITH HUSAIN NIẒĀM SHĀH, AND OF THE STRENGTHENING OF THE BONDS OF FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THEM BY A MATRIMONIAL ALLIANCE.

A.D. 1561. It has already been mentioned that 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh had succeeded, with the assistance of Sadāshivarāya, in recovering possession of the fortress of Kaliyāni from the officers of Husain NiẒām Shāh, and Husain NiẒām Shāh was constantly revolving plans for the capture of the fortress. Qāsim Beg and Maulānā 'Ināyat-ullāh¹⁴² now considered that it would be wise to renew the alliance with Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh and to cement it by bestowing one of Husain's daughters on him in marriage; and they tendered this advice to the king. Husain NiẒām Shāh, having regard to the exigencies of the situation, agreed to the proposal, and an ambassador was sent to open negotiations with Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh. It was agreed that both parties should meet before the fortress of Kaliyāni and should first celebrate the marriage and then lay siege to the fortress, and capture it. After the settlement of the terms of the treaty, the two kings met at Kaliyāni, where the marriage was celebrated, and then laid siege to the fortress (A.D. 1562).

When 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh heard that Husain NiẒām Shāh and Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh were besieging Kaliyāni, he was much perturbed and could devise no remedy but a second appeal to Sadāshivarāya. He therefore had recourse to him, and that accursed infidel marched with a mighty army towards Kaliyāni. When 'Alī Barīd Shāh heard that Sadāshivarāya was marching on Kaliyāni, he also collected his forces and marched from Bidar and joined him, and when Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh heard of the approach of the army of Vijayanagar, he disregarded the bond which bound him to Husain NiẒām Shāh and, following his former practice, broke faith and left Husain NiẒām Shāh and joined the army of Vijayanagar. Husain NiẒām Shāh was now much perturbed, and perceiving that he could not possibly, with his small army, withstand the great hosts of the enemy, retreated to Ahmadnagar. When the news of his retreat reached Sadāshivarāya he, with 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh and 'Alī Barīd Shāh marched on Ahmadnagar. Husain NiẒām Shāh despaired of being able to offer a successful resistance in Ahmadnagar and, after leaving a picked garrison in the fort, retired to Junnār. The allies then encamped before Ahmadnagar and again did the infidels and accursed polytheists stretch forth their hands to vex the unfortunate Muslims and plundered all that they could find in and around the city. When the Muslims had endured the oppression of the infidels for a time and were reduced to the utmost straits, Malika-yi-Jahān, Malik-i-Humāyūn Bibi Amāna, the king's mother, who was then in the

¹⁴² Maulānā 'Ināyatullāh had returned to the service of Husain NiẒām Shāh while the allies were besieging Ahmadnagar, and had been the principal channel of communication between Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh and the garrison. It was he that inspired this foolishly provocative policy. It was in the beginning of A.H. 970 (September or October, 1562) that Husain and Ibrāhīm met at Kaliyāni, and Jamāl Bibi, daughter of the former, was married to the latter. Sayyid 'Alī fails to mention Husain's misfortunes before his retreat on Ahmadnagar and Junnār and slanders Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh. When Husain heard of the approach of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, who had been joined by Burhān 'Imād Shāh or rather Tufāl Khān (who resented the murder of Jahāngīr Khān), and 'Alī Barīd Shāh and Sadāshivarāya, he and Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh marched to attack them. Husain found himself opposed to the Hindus while Ibrāhīm was opposed to the Muḥammadan allies, and apparently retreated before them. Husain lost most of his artillery, on which he chiefly relied, in the deep mire, and it was captured by the Hindus. Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh's camp was attacked, but was saved by the exertions of his minister, Muṣṭafā Khān Ardistāni. Husain and Ibrāhīm then retreated towards Ahmadnagar. At Ausa Ibrāhīm left Husain and returned to Goleonda, while Husain continued his march to Ahmadnagar and thence to Junnār —F. ii 245.

fortress of Ahmadnagar, sent a message to Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh,¹⁴³ to say that the whole of the land of Islâm was groaning under the oppression of the idolators and that it ill became Muhammadan sovereigns to instigate idolators to persecute Muslims. This message took effect on Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh and stimulated his religious zeal and his jealousy for the faith so that he resolved to retreat and to be no longer a party to the oppression of Muslims. He therefore went to Sadâshivarâya and complained of the disorganization of his army and of the great delay in the siege of Ahmadnagar, saying that it was impossible to foresee what the end of the campaign would be, or when it would come, seeing that Husain Nizâm Shâh would not meet them in the field, but that he feared that the army might become disorganized and suffer a defeat. He then recommended that one of three courses should be followed (1) that the expedition should be abandoned for that year and that each of the allies should withdraw to his own country, returning in the following year to attain the object which they had in view, (2) that he himself should be allowed to withdraw to his own kingdom in order that he might reorganize his army and rejoin the allies when he had completed this task, or (3) if it was desired to press the siege that 'Âdil Shâh, on whose behalf the expedition had been undertaken, should make loans to the allies to enable them to reorganize their armies. Sadâshivarâya and his brother Eltamrâj approved of these proposals, and what Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh had said was communicated to 'Ali 'Âdil Shâh. 'Ali 'Âdil Shâh was strongly in favour of the continuance of the siege, but his avarice prevented him from accepting the third proposal and he therefore returned no definite answer.

A.D. 1563. At sunrise on the following day, Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh marched with his army on his return to Golconda, and when Sadâshivarâya, who also was weary of the interminable siege, heard of his departure, he too retired with the army of Vijayanagar to his own dominions, and 'Ali 'Âdil Shâh was compelled to retire without having attained his object.¹⁴⁴

Thus the country was relieved of the oppression of the infidels by means of the wisdom and wise policy of the Malika-yi-Jehân, and the Muslims again breathed freely after their intolerable sufferings at the hands of the idolators.

¹⁴³ Sayyid 'Ali seems to have confounded the two different invasions of the Ahmadnagar kingdom by the Hindus. Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh was now with neither army, having retired to Golconda. After fruitlessly besieging Ahmadnagar for a short time, the allies followed Husain towards Junnâr, but were so harassed by Husain's light troops and so apprehensive of being overtaken by the rainy season (May, 1563) that they retired to Ahmadnagar. Here Sadâshivarâya's army encamped in the bed of the Sina. The rains broke and the river came down in flood, carrying down with it 300 of Sadâshivarâya's elephants and 12,000 of his cavalry. After this disaster he and 'Ali 'Âdil Shâh retired to their own kingdom.—F. ii, 68, 335; B.S. 86; T.M.Q.S.

¹⁴⁴ Burhân Nizâm Shâh I. had first set the example of calling upon Vijayanagar to intervene in the quarrels of the Muhammadan Kings of the Dakan, when, in 1552, he formed an alliance with the Hindu state against Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh I., and he could not, therefore, justly complain of 'Ali 'Âdil Shâh for following the same disastrous policy; but the behaviour of the Hindus during the two invasions of Ahmadnagar scandalized all Muslims. They lodged, worshipped their idols, and played their music in the mosques, and ravished Muhammadan women. Sadâshivarâya behaved as though he were the overlord of all the Muhammadan kings, and the Hindu soldiers openly scoffed at them as his vassals. On his way back to Vijayanagar, he compelled 'Ali 'Âdil Shâh to cede the districts of Hippargi and Akalkot, and Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh to surrender the forts and districts of Kovilakonda, Pângul, and Ghanpûra. Ever since his first alliance with 'Ali 'Âdil Shâh he had treated the envoys of the Sultans as the agents of vassals, refusing them seats at court and making them run beside his horse.—F. ii, 69.

When Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh was relieved of his anxiety with regard to the infidels, he returned to his capital and devoted all his attention to making reparation for the suffering which they had caused and to devising plans which would prevent their repeating their insolence.

LXVI.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE CAUSES OF THE UPROOTING AND OVERTHROW OF SADĀSHIVARĀYA, THE CHIEF OF THE INFIDELS, BY GOD'S PREDESTINATION, AND BY MEANS OF ḤUSAIN NIẒĀM SHĀH.

A.D. 1564. When Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh had rest from settling the affairs of his kingdom and restoring peace and plenty to all his subjects, he bethought himself that both merit and profit were to be gained by the inauguration of a holy war against the infidels of Vijayanagar, and he devoted all his attention to preparations for the conflict.

Sadāshivarāya was distinguished above all the kings of Vijayanagar for the strength of his army and for his power and was puffed up with pride owing to the extent of his dominions. He possessed the whole of the kingdom of Vijayanagar with its sixty sea-ports. Its length was near 600 leagues and its revenue 120,000,000 *hāns* and that accursed infidel had reigned over this kingdom for a long time. From the time of the prophet, no Muḥammadan king had attempted to subdue this kingdom, but all had sought the friendship of its kings and had treated them with courtesy.¹⁴⁵ But Sadāshivarāya, in the pride of his power, had broken the treaties which he and his predecessors had made with the sovereigns of Islām, and had invaded the territories of Islam and deluged them in blood, and had destroyed the dwellings of Muslims and slain large numbers of them. Now, therefore, Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh determined to be revenged on him and took counsel with his advisers as to the best means of overcoming the enemies of religion and of the faith. His counsellors, chief among whom were Qāsim Beg and Maulānā 'Ināyatullah, applauded the king's intention, but said that it was impossible to attack Sadāshivarāya with any hope of success so long as an alliance existed between him and 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, and advised the king to open negotiations with 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh. The king then, by the advice of the counsellors, first approached Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh on the subject of an alliance of the Muḥammadan sovereigns, and Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh, who was delighted with the idea, sent Sayyid Muṣṭafā Khān, one of his chief *amīrs*, to Ahmadnagar to carry on negotiations. Sayyid Muṣṭafā Khān went on from Ahmadnagar to Bijāpūr and there set himself to induce 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh to join the league. He said that it was common knowledge that the Dakan, even when it was subject to the rule of one powerful king, always suffered from the inroads of the idolators, and that now that the country was divided between three kings it was evident that the lives and property of Muslims, would be always at the mercy of infidels—a state of affairs which was neither pleasing to God, nor acceptable to His people. He said further that rulers should earnestly consider how they would answer to God for neglect of their duty in protecting His people, and that

¹⁴⁵ This misstatement is so palpable as to be ridiculous. The author has himself chronicled the numerous wars between the Bahmanī kingdom and the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar. No Bahmanī King had been able to subdue Vijayanagar, and fortune was not constant, but the balance of success was largely in favour of the Muḥammadan Kingdom.

Historians naturally disagree in the assignment of the honour of being the prime mover in the confederacy against the 'infidels.' Firishṭa, the historian of Bijāpūr, assigns it to 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, but the author of the *T.M.Q.S.* agrees with Sayyid 'Alī in assigning it to Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh. Sayyid 'Alī naturally omits to mention that it was 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh who threw down the gauntlet to Sadāshivarāya by sending an envoy to Vijayanagar to demand the retrocession of the Rāichūr Dūāb and the districts of Hippargi and Akalkot. The envoy was received with gross discourtesy and expelled from the city, whereupon 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh declared war on Vijayanagar.

It now behoved the princes of Islâm to sheathe the sword of intestine strife and to form an alliance among themselves and cement it by intermarriage, in order that they might act as one against the infidels.

These arguments took effect on 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh, and his anxiety regarding Husain Nizâm Shâh was removed. It was agreed that the alliance between Bijâpûr and Ahmadnagar should be cemented by intermarriage, and that Chând Bibî (daughter of Husain Nizâm Shâh) should be given in marriage to 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh, and Fakhî Bibî Hadya Sulţân, sister of 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh, to Shâhzâda Murtaẓâ, afterwards Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh I. These marriages were celebrated amidst general rejoicings, the people regarding them as an earnest of future peace and prosperity. When the festivities had come to an end, Husain Nizâm Shâh bestowed the fortress of Sholâpûr on Chând Bibî as dowry,¹⁴⁶ and delivered the keys of the fortress to 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh. It was then agreed that the three kings should meet with their armies at Sholâpûr in the following year and should march against the infidels. They then separated and employed the interval in collecting and strengthening their forces.

In the following year,¹⁴⁷ 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh and Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh, having collected very large armies, met at Sholâpûr, and Husain Nizâm Shâh, as soon as he heard of their meeting at Sholâpûr, set forth from Ahmadnagar at the head of a numerous army to join them. On his arrival at Sholâpûr, on *Jamâdi-ul-awwal* 8, he gave audiences to 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh and Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh, and on the 20th of the same month, the three kings marched from Sholâpûr towards the kingdom of Vijayanagar. They marched to the village of Tâlikota, situated near the Krishna river; and, when they arrived there, found that the passage of the river, which was wider than two arrow-flights and was very deep, would be most difficult.

When the Râya of Vijayanagar heard of the meeting of the Sultâns and of their march towards his kingdom, he resolved to march to meet them. He sent his youngest brother, Venkatâdri, with 20,000 horse, 1,000 elephants, and 100,000 foot as an advanced guard, to the Krishna, to hold the fords and prevent the passage of the Muslims, and he sent his other brother, Eltamrâj, following him, with 12,000 horse, 1,000 elephants, and 200,000 foot, and he himself followed Eltamrâj with a great host;¹⁴⁸ and the three Hindu armies met on the banks of the Krishna, and encamped by a village opposite to the ford apt for the passage of the Muslims. They occupied posts opposite to all the fords and thus prevented the passage of the Muslims.

¹⁴⁶ This sensible arrangement might have been expected to terminate the perennial dispute regarding this fortress, but it only put it to rest for a time. Chând Bibî bore no sons to 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh, who was succeeded by his nephew, Ibrâhîm II.; and when she ultimately returned to Ahmadnagar, the return of her dowry, that is to say the restoration of Sholâpûr, was demanded. The demand was justified by the Islamic law, but not by sound policy.

¹⁴⁷ The year H. 972. *Jamâdi-ul-awwal* 8 and 20 of this year corresponded to Dec. 12 and 24, A.D. 1564. Firishta does not mention the meeting at Sholâpûr on the earlier date, but says that the allies met near Bijâpûr on the later. The *T.M.Q.S.* agrees with him.

¹⁴⁸ The strength and distribution of the Hindu army at Tâlikota are thus given by Firishta (ii. 250). (1) Right, under Tirumala, here called Eltamrâj, and by Firishta Timrâj, consisting of 20,000 horse, 200,000 foot, and 500 elephants; (2) centre, under Sadâshivarâya himself, consisting of 37,000 horse, 500,000 foot, and 1,000 (elsewhere 2,000) elephants; (3) left, under Venkatâdri, consisting of 25,000 horse, 200,000 foot, and 500 elephants; in all 82,000 horse, 900,000 foot, and 2,000 (or 3,000) elephants. Sayyid 'Alî says that Venkatâdri commanded the Hindu right, and on this point the *T.M.Q.S.* agrees with him.

When the Sultans of the Dakan learnt that all the fords were guarded, they sent a reconnaissance patrol of sharpwitted and experienced men to discover another ford; but this patrol, after a careful reconnaissance, reported that there were but three fords, and that the best and shallowest of these was that which lay immediately before the allied armies, but that all three were carefully and strongly guarded by the infidels, who had thrown up entrenchments and batteries over against them. Husain Nizâm Shâh then desired his advisers to devise a plan for the passage of the river, but they were unable to do so, and counselled a retreat. Husain Nizâm Shâh himself then said that it was best that the allied armies should march along the bank of the river to search for another ford. Accordingly, on the next day the armies marched a day's march along the bank and on the following day marched again along the bank. The infidels, fearing lest the allies should thus discover another ford, marched abreast of them along the other bank, and deserted the main ford.

LXVII.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE PASSAGE OF THE RIVER BY THE ALLIES AND
OF THE BATTLE WITH THE INFIDELS.

As it had been decreed by God that the armies of Islâm should be victorious over the infidels, it followed that when the Muslims, by the direction of Husain Nizâm Shâh, marched along the river bank the infidels deserted the best and most practicable ford over the river, the only ford by which the Muslims could hope to cross in safety. A body of troops from the allied army was sent back to the deserted ford, and traversed the distance with such speed that they did three days' march in one day. With them was Husain Nizâm Shâh, who, on his arrival at the deserted ford, immediately crossed the river with the force accompanying him and was followed by the whole army of Islâm.¹⁴⁹

When Sadâshivarâya heard of the passage of the river by the Muslims, which seemed to be a presage of their success, he was much perturbed and alarmed; but it occurred to him that as the three kings had marched with such speed, a large part of their armies and of their baggage must have been left behind, and that if he marched immediately against those who had crossed the river, he would have a good chance of success.

When Husain Nizâm Shâh heard of the approach of the infidels, he was overjoyed at the prospect of encountering them and drew up the allied armies in battle array. 'Ali 'Adil Shâh commanded the right and Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh the left, while Husain Nizâm Shâh in person commanded the centre.¹⁵⁰

When Sadâshivarâya and the Hindu army became aware of the readiness and zeal of the warlike armies of Islâm, they were terrified and decided not to fight on that day but to make the most of their last day of dominion and power. They therefore withdrew from the field, and Husain Nizâm Shâh and the other two Sultans took advantage of their unwillingness to fight to allow the armies of Islâm time for repose, and rested that night in anticipation of the morrow's battle.

¹⁴⁹ According to Firishta and the other authorities (*T.M.Q.S.*, *B.S.*, and *H.A.*), the allies marched along the river bank for three days, and then, suddenly turning back, returned by one day's forced march to their starting point. Their advanced guard crossed the river, unopposed in, the evening, and the rest of the army during the night. Before the morning they had advanced towards Sadâshivarâya's camp, about ten miles from the river.

¹⁵⁰ All authorities agree as to the positions occupied by the three kings, and from Husain Nizâm Shâh's commanding the centre, the post of honour, it is evident that he was regarded as the leader of the allies. Sayyid 'Ali has omitted to mention that 'Ali Barid Shâh was with Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh on the left. According to the *B.S.*, Burhân 'Imâd Shâh had been invited to join the confederacy but refused, owing to his resentment of the murder of Jahângir Khân by Husain Nizâm Shâh. It was, of course, Tufâl Khân, and not Burhân himself, who refused.

On the following day, which was Friday, *Jamādi-us-sāni* 2,¹⁵¹ Husain NiẒām Shāh again drew up the allied armies, at sunrise, in battle array. The right, as before, was commanded by 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, the left by Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, and the centre by Husain NiẒām Shāh himself. Ikh̄lās Kh̄n, one of the chief *amīrs* of Ahmadnagar, was posted, with a force of mounted Khurāsānī archers, in advance of the centre. The elephants with their banners were drawn up at intervals in the main line of battle, their tusks being armed with sharp sword blades.

The allied armies, full of spirit, then began to move against the hosts of the enemy. Sadāshivarāya had placed the wings of his army under the command of his two brothers and commanded the centre in person. He now summoned his brothers and his chief officers and encouraged them to make a resolute stand against the Muslims, saying that he had attained the age of eighty years without having disgraced himself and that he did not wish to be disgraced by cowardice at the end of his life. He said that anybody who was overcome by fear was free to depart while there was yet time, and to save his life. The Rāya's brothers and their 30,000 horsemen swore that they would fight to the death.¹⁵²

The armies met at midday. Ikh̄lās Kh̄n first charged the enemy with his Khurāsānī horse and slew large numbers of the infidels.

LXVIII.—VICTORY OF THE MUSLIMS OVER THE IDOLATERS.

When the accursed Sadāshivarāya observed the determination of the Muslims, his spirit was roused, and he sent forth 30,000 horse from the centre of his army against the Muslims, while his younger brother, Venkatādri, who commanded the right of the infidels, attacked the left of the allies under Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, which was beaten back, while 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, in consequence of his former alliance with Sadāshivarāya, left the position allotted to him. The centre, however, under the command of Husain NiẒām Shāh, stood fast and manfully withstood the idolaters. Ikh̄lās Kh̄n again charged the enemy with his 'Irāqī and Khurāsānī horse and did great execution among them. In fact, Ikh̄lās Kh̄n and Rūmī Kh̄n were the heroes of the day. Rūmī Kh̄n, who commanded the artillery of Ahmadnagar, brought up all the heavy and light guns on their carriages, and the rockets, and drew them up by order of Husain NiẒām Shāh, before the Army, and kept up a heavy fire on the enemy.¹⁵³

At this phase of the fight Husain NiẒām Shāh ordered the camp followers to set up his pavilion in front of the enemy. This pavilion was the king's great tent of state, and it was the custom of the Sultans of the Dakan, whenever they ordered this pavilion to

¹⁵¹ Jan. 7, 1565. Firishta does not give the exact date of the battle, but according to the *T.M.Q.S.* and the *H.A.* it was fought on *Jamādi-us-sāni* 20 (Jan. 23, 1565).

¹⁵² This account of Sadāshivarāya's attitude differs widely from that given by Firishta (ii., 74), who says that he was carried into the field in a litter and replied to his advisers, who suggested that it would be more seemly to mount a horse, that he saw no occasion to mount a horse for such child's play, as the enemy would certainly flee at once. He also issued orders (F., ii., 250) that 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh and Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh should be taken alive, that he might imprison them for life, but that he required the head of Husain NiẒām Shāh. After the battle had begun he descended from his litter and took his seat on a splendid throne which had been set up for him, and caused piles of gold and silver money and jewels to be spread before him, announcing that the successful valour of his troops should be rewarded on the spot.

¹⁵³ Other authorities agree that the wings, under 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh and Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh were beaten back, and that it was Husain's steadfastness that saved the day. Some of the troops from the wings, seeing his standard still aloft, returned and rallied round him. His artillery was well served by Chalabī Rūmī Kh̄n and the most determined attack made by the Hindu centre was broken by a terrible discharge from Husain's guns, which had all been loaded to the muzzle with copper coin. Husain followed up his advantage by a furious charge (F. ii. 75, 251).

be set up on the field of battle, to stand their ground without quitting the saddle until victory declared for them. The erection of this pavilion at this stage was not without danger to the king's honour, but when Sadâshivarâya saw that the pavilion was being set up, he lost heart and gave all up for lost. Nevertheless the Hindus charged repeatedly, and the defeat of the Muslims appeared inevitable when, in the heat of the conflict, one of the elephants charged Sadâshivarâya and slew his horse with its tusks.¹⁵⁴ The Râya was thus dismounted and at that time Rûmî Khân and some of his men rode up and were about to kill him. Just then, Dalpat Râi, one of Sadâshivarâya's *vazîrs* cried out, 'Do not kill him, but carry him alive before Dîvân Barîd, for he is Sadâshivarâya.' They therefore straitly bound the chief of hell and carried him before Husain Nizâm Shâh. As soon as 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh heard of the capture of Sadâshivarâya, he hastened to the spot with the design of releasing the accursed infidel, but Husain Nizâm Shâh, being aware that 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh would press for the Râya's release, which it would be folly to grant, and that a refusal to grant it would only lead to strife between the allies, and to the rupture of the alliance, issued orders for the execution of Sadâshivarâya before 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh could arrive. His mischievous head was then severed from his foul body and was cast beneath the hoofs of the king's horse. It was then by the king's order placed on a spear and exhibited to the Hindu army, and the Muslims then charged the enemy who scattered and fled in all directions. Husain Nizâm Shâh pursued the fugitives and so many were put to the sword that the plain was strewn with their accursed bodies. According to the most moderate accounts, the number of the slain was nine thousand,¹⁵⁵ but according to some accounts it much exceeded this number, and the remainder escaped with much difficulty, and fled in all directions, hiding like foxes in holes of the earth. The victors captured jewels, ornaments, furniture, camels, tents, camp equipage, drums, standards, maidservants, menservants, and arms and armour of all sorts in such quantities that the whole army was enriched.

Husain Nizâm Shâh prostrated himself in gratitude to God, and allowed the army to retain all the spoil except the elephants. The *amîrs* and *vazîrs* tendered their humble congratulations on this glorious victory and all were rewarded with advancement. The secretaries then composed letters announcing the victory, which were sent to all parts of the world.

¹⁵⁴ This account differs from that given by Firîshhta (ii. 76, 252), according to which Sadâshivarâya did not mount a horse but, when he saw the day going against him, left his throne and re-entered his litter. One of Husain's war elephants, named Ghulâm 'Alî, overthrew the litter, and its bearers fled, leaving Sadâshivarâya lying alone on the ground. The driver again directed the elephant towards the jewelled litter, with a view to securing it as a prize, when one of the Hindu King's Brâhmans came forward and said. "This is Sadâshivarâya. Find a horse for him and he will make you one of the greatest lords in his kingdom." The driver, on learning who the captive was, caused his elephant to pick him up and carried him to Chalabî Rûmî Khân, who sent him on to Husain Nizâm Shâh, by whose orders he was instantly beheaded. His head was raised aloft on a spear on the elephant which had brought him in, and the Hindu army, horrified at the sight, broke and fled. Husain Nizâm Shâh afterwards had the head stuffed with straw and sent to Tufâl Khân of Berar as a warning. The statement that 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh wished to preserve the common enemy appears to be a slander. There is no other authority for it and there is no reason to believe that 'Alî, whose dominions marched with those of Vijayanagar, was not as anxious for the destruction of the Hindu kingdom as Husain could be.

¹⁵⁵ This is a strangely modest computation. Firîshhta says that popular rumour placed the number of the slain at 300,000, but that it was in truth about 100,000. This, considering the dense masses of the Hindus, the deadly artillery fire, and the execution done by the Muhammadan cavalry among the half clad Hindu infantry, as well in the battle as during the long pursuit, may well be believed.

This glorious victory was gained on Friday, *Jamâdî-ul-âkhir* 2, A.H. 972 (Jan. 4, 1565), and one of the learned men of the court composed the chronogram *یکمى از اول جمادى الآخرة*¹⁶⁶ that is to say the date would be found by subtracting one from the total of the numerical value of the letters composing the sentence.

When 'Alî 'Adil Shâh and Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh became aware of the death of Sadâshivarâya, who was, in truth, their support and stay, they bitterly repented of having entered into the alliance with Husain Nizâm Shâh, but since an arrow once let loose cannot be recalled, their repentance availed them nothing.

After this glorious victory, Husain Nizâm Shâh and the two noble Sultans who accompanied him, halted for ten days on the battlefield,¹⁶⁷ collecting their booty and disposing of and slaying such of the infidels as fell into their hands (during this period), and then marched on to Vijayanagar and spent four months in that country, destroying the temples and dwellings of the idolaters and utterly laying waste all the buildings of the country. The three kings then set out on their return journey to their own kingdoms.

A. D. 1565. In the course of the return journey, Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh, who was vexed with Mustafâ Khân for the share which he had had in the execution of Sadâshivarâya, his dissatisfaction with which has already been mentioned, said to Mustafâ Khân in the course of conversation 'You have ever expressed a desire to make a pilgrimage to Makkah and the other holy places, now that you have attained your object here, you have an opportunity of departing.' Mustafâ Khân, who had long been apprehensive of evil from Ibrâhîm's haughty and violent disposition, gladly seized this opportunity to assemble his horses, elephants and everything in this category, and joined the camp of Husain Nizâm Shâh, in whose service he remained until the day of his death.¹⁶⁸

Husain Nizâm Shâh then pursued his leisurely way to his capital, eating, drinking, and making merry by the way. On his approaching the capital, the Sayyids, saints, great men and the general public, came forth to greet him and to pray for his long life and prosperity each man offering what he could. They were welcomed by the king and he then entered the fort of Ahmadnagar.

LXIX.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE DEATH OF HUSAIN NIZÂM SHÂH.

When Abu-T-Muzaffar Husain Nizâm Shâh, after overthrowing the infidels, returned to his capital, he engaged himself in administering the affairs of his kingdom and also in gladdening his heart with the wine-cup and the society of lovely cup-bearers and fair damsels. His glory and bodily powers being now at their zenith, began to decline, and the wine which he took to gladden his heart injured his health, and he died.

After the king's death, the learned men at court buried him with great mourning in the *Bâgh-i-Nizâm*, the burial place of his forefathers, and his remains were afterwards removed to Karbalâ by his son, Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh I, and there buried near the tomb of 'Abdullâh al-Husain.

¹⁶⁶ The words of the chronogram seem to indicate that Sayyid 'Alî's date, *Jamâdî-ul-âkhir* 2, is correct, but the chronogram itself is wrong by two years. The numerical value of the letters composing the total 975, subtracting one from which we get 974, whereas the date of the event is 972.

¹⁶⁷ The T.I.L.Q.S. agrees in this statement, but according to Akbar's description the battle continued as far as Anagondi, fifteen miles from Vijayanagar.

¹⁶⁸ Mustafâ Khân entered the service of 'Alî 'Adil Shâh, not that of Husain Nizâm Shâh, and was murdered at Bankipat, early in the reign of Ibrâhîm 'Adil Shâh. His death occurred in the year 972.

This calamity occurred on Wednesday, *Zil-Qa'dah* 7, A.H. 972 (June 6, 1565), the chronogram *آفتاب دکن بشد پنجم* giving the date.¹⁵⁹

Husain Nizâm Shâh was a man of praiseworthy disposition and made a laudable end. Islâm rested under the shadow of his justice; learned men were happy and content under his protection, and all his subjects were at ease and in peace. He left two sons like the two great lights of heaven, each of whom came to the throne in his turn, as will be related hereafter. May God prolong the reign of his present majesty, the *â'ib Qirân*, the shadow of God, until the Resurrection. He left four daughters like the four elements, all of whom were married, viz., Chând Bibi, Bibi Jamâl, and Bibi Khadijah (the name of the fourth, *Âqâ Bibi* is not given).¹⁶⁰

LXX.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE REIGN OF AMR'Ī GHĪZĪ MURTAZÂ NIZÂM SHAH I.

When the *amîrs* and the chief officers of state had leisure from the mourning for, and the funeral ceremonies of, Husain Nizâm Shâh, they raised Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh, as his eldest son, to the throne, and swore allegiance to him as their king. His formal enthronement was postponed, by the advice of the astrologers, to an auspicious time, but the *amîrs* and *vazīrs*, in order to set the minds of the army at rest, raised the umbrella and *âstâbgîr* over his head and admitted the people to his presence in order that they might make their obeisance to him.

Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh in his youth avoided all business of state and gave him self up wholly to sensual pleasures, so that the business of the state fell upon the shoulders of his mother Khânzâdah Humâyûn, who was the mother both of Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh and of his present majesty, Burhân Nizâm Shâh *â'ib Qirân*, and the nobles and officers of state obeyed her in all things as though she had been king. She managed all affairs, whether of war or of peace, with wisdom and prudence.

At first she confirmed and continued Qâsim Beg ilakim in the office of *rakîl* and *pîshvâ*, which he had held in the reign of the late king, who had left Maulânâ 'Inâyatullah in the territories of Vijayanagar with an army in order that he might capture the fortresses of Râichûr and Mudgal, but afterwards when Maulânâ 'Inâyatullah returned from Vijayanagar, Qâsim Beg, who was growing feeble with age, resigned his office and went into retirement in his house, while 'Inâyatullah was appointed *rakîl* and *pîshvâ* in his place.

Then Farhâd Khân the African, who had formerly been one of Qâsim Beg's slaves, and, having been patronized by the king, had become a *vazīr* and an officer in the army, and had then, owing to a quarrel between himself and Chatâ Khân the eunuch, become apprehensive, and had fled with some other *vazīrs* to Gujarât, took Qâsim Beg, who had been sent to allay the fears of Farhâd and his companions, to Gujarât. Qâsim Beg died at the port of Sûrat. After a while Farhâd Khân, having received a safe conduct, returned to Ahmadnagar and re-entered the royal service, and Maulânâ 'Inâyatullah, after holding the great offices of *rakîl* and *pîshvâ* for some time, resigned them, and returned to the fortress of Lohogarh. Then Sayyid Shâh Rafi'-ud-dîn Husain, eldest son of the late Shâh Tâhir, was

¹⁵⁹ Firishṭa gives this chronogram (ii. 253) which gives the date 972, but does not give the day of Husain Nizâm Shâh's death. The T.M.Q.S. gives the date given here.

¹⁶⁰ Husain Nizâm Shâh I left four sons and four daughters. By Bibi Khânza (Khânzâda) Humâyûn he had Murtaẓâ, who succeeded him, and Burhân, afterwards Burhân Nizâm Shâh II, Chând Bibi, married to 'Alî 'Adil Shâh I, and Bibi Khadijah, married to Jamâl-ud-dîn Husain Injâ. By Surya he had two sons, Shâh Qâsim and Shâh Manşûr, and two daughters, Âqâ Bibi, married to Mîr 'Abdul Wahhâb, son of Sayyid 'Abdul 'Azîm, and Bibi Jamâl, married to Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh.

appointed *rakîl* and *pîshvâ*, but was soon dismissed, and was succeeded by Tâj Khân and 'Ain-ul-Mulk, brothers of Khûnzah Humâyûn, who jointly held the offices of *rakîl* and *pîshvâ* and usurped their sister's power and position in the state.

Seven months after the death of Husain Nizâm Shâh, on Sunday, *Rajab* 5, 973 (Jan. 26, 1566), which was the date selected by the astrologers, Murtaẓâ was formally and ceremoniously enthroned and crowned, and the *amirs* and great officers of state saluted him and scattered largesse.

LXXI.—AN ACCOUNT OF 'ÂLÎ 'ÂDIL SHÂH'S EXPEDITION AGAINST AHMADNAGAR
AND OF ITS RESULTS.

When 'Âlî 'Âdil Shâh heard of the death of Husain Nizâm Shâh and of Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh's neglect of public business and devotion to sensual delights, he seized the opportunity of violating his treaty and of disregarding his connection by marriage with Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh and, at the instigation of Kishvar Khân, who was then *pîshvâ* of the kingdom of Bijâpûr, invaded the kingdom of Ahmadnagar with an army of horse and foot.¹⁶¹

When news of the irruption was brought by spies to Khûnzah Humâyûn, she considered that it would be wise to enter into treaties with the neighbouring rulers, and thus form a confederacy too strong for 'Âlî 'Âdil Shâh. She therefore sent an envoy to Tufâl Khân, who was then *de facto* ruler of Berar and had imprisoned the 'Imâd Shâhî family, the offspring of his benefactors, and was considering the advisability of entering the service of Ahmadnagar, to propose an offensive and defensive alliance and to appoint a place where he might meet the forces of Ahmadnagar for the purpose of acting in concert with them. At the same time the army of Ahmadnagar marched towards the frontier of Berar for the purpose of concluding a treaty of friendship. Tufâl Khân at first turned a deaf ear to the proposals of the envoy, but when he heard of the approach of Khûnzah Humâyûn with the army of Ahmadnagar he set forth with a large army to join Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh and marched with him towards Telingâna, while an envoy was sent in advance to Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh to invite him to join the confederacy. Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh responded at once, joined the army of Ahmadnagar with his army, and renewed his treaty with Ahmadnagar. The three allied armies then marched against 'Âlî 'Âdil Shâh.

When 'Âlî 'Âdil Shâh heard that Tufâl Khân and Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh had joined Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh, he abandoned all idea of sustaining a conflict and of acquiring military fame, and began a retreat. The allied armies then invaded Bijâpûr and plundered the country, destroying or carrying off the crops and devastating habitations.

'Âlî 'Âdil Shâh retreated from place to place in order to escape the invaders, and was perpetually on the march. When the allies reached Bijâpûr, several of the *amirs* of Ahmadnagar, such as 'Inâyatullah, who was then *rakîl* and *pîshvâ*, Farhâd Khân, Ghâlib Khân, Kâmil Khân, Miyân Manjhu, and Ranghâr Khân, carried fire and sword even to the glacis of the fort, slaying many of the Bijâpûrî army. The garrison which 'Âlî 'Âdil Shâh had left to defend the town and fortress defended the place to the best of their ability, and there was great slaughter on both sides.

¹⁶¹ The treaty referred to was that made after the battle of Tâlikota, but Sayyid 'Âlî gives an entirely false idea of the conduct of 'Âlî 'Âdil Shâh, who was not the aggressor. After the battle of Tâlikota he took under his protection Timmalâ, son of Sadâshivarâya, established him as ruler of Anagondî, and supported him against his uncle Venkatâdri, who retired to Nalgonda. When 'Âlî led an army to Anagondî to support Timmalâ, Venkatâdri appealed for help to Ahmadnagar and Khûnzah Humâyûn and her son invaded 'Âlî's dominions and prepared to besiege Bijâpûr. 'Âlî hastened back from Anagondî and after a few indecisive combats the army of Ahmadnagar retired. These events happened in A.H. 973 (A.D. 1565-66)—F. ii. 77, 78, 254. Firishîa says nothing of Tufâl Khân or Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh having joined Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh, and it is most improbable that they did so.

When the king (or Khûnzah Humâyûn) realized that 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh would not meet the allies in the field, and 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh had, in fact, by means of agents in the allied armies, sued for peace, and had expressed his repentance for what he had done, Khûnzah Humâyûn consented to the conclusion of peace; and after the terms had been arranged, the army returned to Ahmadnagar, Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh and Tufâl Khân departing for their own territories in the course of the homeward march.

LXXII.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE ALLIANCE OF 'ALÎ 'ÂDIL SHÂH WITH MURTAZÂ NIZÂM SHÂH AGAINST TUFÂL KHÂN, AND THE TERMINATION OF THE ALLIANCE IN STRIFE AND ENMITY.

After the return of the army to Ahmadnagar, it occurred to 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh that it would be well to make an insincere peace with Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh and to utilize him for wreaking his vengeance on Tufâl Khân.¹⁶² He therefore sent an envoy to Ahmadnagar to express his desire for mutual friendship and for meeting Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh in order that the old treaties between Ahmadnagar and Bijâpûr might be renewed and that the two kingdoms might make common cause against their common enemies. The *amîrs* and officers of Ahmadnagar, who regarded peace with Bijâpûr as the best policy at that time, ensured a favourable reception for the envoy and sent him away with all his requests granted. The two kings then set out to meet one another and met at the fortress of AUSA. Here the two kings renewed and revived the treaties of peace and friendship which had aforetime existed between the kingdoms of Ahmadnagar and Bijâpûr, and agreed to make war upon Tufâl Khân of Berar, who had rebelled against his master and had possessed himself of the kingdom of Berar, and to set the 'Imâd Shâhî family free from his domination. Farhâd Khân, with a corps from the army of Ahmadnagar and Dilâvar Khân with a corps from the army of Bijâpûr were sent forward into Berar as an advanced guard, and took possession of some of the districts and villages of that country after many conflicts with Tufâl Khân's troops, while the armies of Ahmadnagar and Bijâpûr under Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh and 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh, followed them.

When Tufâl Khân became aware that the army of Ahmadnagar (and the army of Bijâpûr) had invaded his territories, he realized that he could not meet them in the field and, with the remnant of his own wretched followers, took refuge in the fort of Gâwîl, which was one of the strongest fortresses in Berar. The armies of Ahmadnagar surrounded the fortress and laid siege to it, but 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh, ignoring his treaty with Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh, and breaking his pact with him, thereby disgracing himself, entered into secret negotiations with Tufâl Khân, from whom he received 100,000 *hûns* and 50 elephants as the price of a breach with Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh.

'Alî 'Âdil Shâh, having been thus bribed, proposed that the suppression of Tufâl Khân should be postponed, and that the allies should first attack Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh and should afterwards devote their attention to Tufâl Khân. The *amîrs* of Ahmadnagar were not aware of 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh's duplicity and, as his proposal appeared to them to be sound policy, they abandoned the siege of Gâwîl and, with 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh, retreated one day's march; and of the *amîrs* of Ahmadnagar, Iklhâs Khân, 'Azîz-ul-Mulk, and 'Ain-ul-Mulk were appointed to command the troops to be dispatched against the kingdom of Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh. It so happened, however, that some of the Bargîs and other officers of the army of Bijâpûr attacked the baggage of the army of Ahmadnagar, and fighting ensued between them and the troops of Mansûr Khân, one of the chief *amîrs* of Ahmadnagar who was on baggage guard that day. Mansûr,

¹⁶² Here again Sayyid 'Alî's account is most misleading. He makes it appear that 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh wished to take vengeance on Tufâl Khân for having joined Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh against him, whereas it was Khûnzah Humâyûn who proposed the expedition, the object of which was to punish Tufâl Khân for having failed, from enmity to Ahmadnagar, to join the Muhammadan alliance that had crushed Vijayanagar. The expedition was undertaken in A.H. 974 (A.D. 1566-67)—F. ii. 78.

Khûnzah was slain in the fight and there was much slaughter on both sides. When Khûnzah Humâyûn learnt of the aggression of the Bijâpûris and of Mansûr Khân's death, her wrath knew no bounds and she determined to attack the enemy who had appeared in the garb of a friend. Miyân Manjhû and other officers of A' madnagar set themselves to allay the strife, which could not but result in the wasting of the kingdom of Ahmadnagar, and it was at last settled that 'Ali 'Âdil Shâh should first retreat and march for his own country and that the royal army should then return to A' madnagar. Thus strife between the armies was allayed, the further outpouring of the blood of Muslims was prevented, and the two armies returned, each to its own country.¹⁶³

After these occurrences, the treaties of peace and alliance between Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh and Tufâl Khân were renewed and confirmed, and the two rulers marched against 'Ali 'Âdil Shâh; but he, not venturing to encounter the two armies, retreated before them, and the army of A' madnagar again marched to Bijâpûr. One day, as Maulânâ 'Inâyatullah, who was now *vakîl* and *qishvâ*, Farhâd Khân, Kâmil Khân, Ghalîb Khân and other officers of the army were going about the fortress of Bijâpûr to view it, the garrison left by 'Ali 'Âdil Shâh to defend the fortress suddenly attacked them, and a desperate battle ensued, in which very many of the army of A' madnagar were slain, many elephants were captured and the army of Ahmadnagar was defeated and dispersed. When the remnant of the defeated army reached its camp, Khûnzah Humâyûn retreated to A' madnagar.¹⁶⁴

LXXIII—AN ACCOUNT OF THE ALLIANCE BETWEEN IBRÂHÎM QUTB SHÂH AND MURTAẒÂ NIZÂM SHÂH AND OF ITS RUPTURE OWING TO THE MACHINATIONS OF MISLED FOMENTERS OF STRIFE.

When Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh heard of the rupture which had occurred between Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh and 'Ali 'Âdil Shâh in the course of their expedition against Tufâl Khân, he sent an envoy to Ahmadnagar for the purpose of settling the terms of an alliance between Ahmadnagar and Goleonda. The envoy disclosed some of the duplicity of 'Ali 'Âdil Shâh and conveyed expressions, which were supported by the strongest oaths and assurances, of Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh's friendship. The letter which he brought urged Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh to march from his capital against 'Ali 'Âdil Shâh, saying that the fortress of Bijâpûr was in a ruinous state and that 'Ali 'Âdil Shâh was devoting all his time and attention to rebuilding it. Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh promised that if Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh would march against Bijâpûr, he, the son of Ektamrâj, ruler of Vijayanagar, and Tufâl Khân of Berar would join him and would unite with him in besieging Bijâpûr. Khûnzah Humâyûn, being disgusted with the duplicity and bad faith of 'Ali 'Âdil Shâh, agreed to the proposals of Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh and at once marched from Ahmadnagar, without halting by the way, to the banks of the Krishna, which was the meeting place agreed upon. Here both Ibrâhîm Qutb

¹⁶³ Firishta says nothing about any active hostilities between the armies of Bijâpûr and Ahmadnagar, though relations must have been strained. Tufâl Khân was the enemy of Ahmadnagar rather than of Bijâpûr, and Firishta admits that he bribed 'Ali 'Âdil Shâh with large presents to make peace, but adds that the two armies retired from Berar together and apparently without any open rupture. The approach of the rainy season, when campaigning on the heavy black soil of the Dekan was almost impossible, was usually regarded as a sufficient excuse for the cessation of hostilities.—F. ii. 78, 254.

¹⁶⁴ Firishta does not mention this expedition to Bijâpûr, but says that in A.H. 975 (A.D. 1567-68) Muḥammad Kishvar Khân of Bijâpûr captured some of the frontier districts and fortresses of the Ahmadnagar kingdom.—F. ii. 78, 254. It is extremely improbable that Tufâl Khân should have allied himself with Ahmadnagar against Bijâpûr.

Shâh and the son of Eitamrâj joined the army of Ahmadnagar, and were honoured by being permitted to pay their duty to Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh.¹⁶⁵

When 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh became aware of the great strength of the army of Ahmadnagar and of its having been joined by Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh and the son of Eitamrâj, he realized that he could not withstand it in the field and therefore set himself by fraud and artifice to cause dissension between the allies. By means of his guile he succeeded in detaching Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh from Ahmadnagar and in attaching him to himself, thus inducing him to break his treaty with Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh.

Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh, being thus beguiled by 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh, deserted the camp of the allies at midnight and marched on Goleonda, and on the following morning, at daybreak, the news was brought to Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh; and Khûnzah Humâyûn, having taken counsel of the officers of state, resolved to retreat to Ahmadnagar. News was now received that Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh had aggravated his perfidy by attacking and plundering a convoy which was on its way to the royal army. This news confirmed Khûnzah Humâyûn in her resolution of retreating, and the army of Ahmadnagar retreated from its encampment to the distance of one day's march on its homeward journey, and halted. That night the enemy's infantry attacked the camp in great numbers and there was great bloodshed until the breaking of the day. When the day broke, the king ordered that fortifications should be thrown up around the camp and should be garrisoned by infantry, artillery, and archers, in order that strangers might have no access to the camp, nor egress therefrom. These orders were carried out and the enemy who attacked the camp were seized and put to death. In the same manner the enemy, being upon the flanks and rear of the royal army during its march attacked them, putting to death many of the sick men of the army and of the baggage guard. It was then ordered that some of the amîrs with their troops and with the royal guard should use the greatest vigilance in protecting the sick and the baggage guard and should repulse the enemy whenever they appeared. These orders were carried out and the marauders were slain whenever they appeared.

Suddenly, in the course of the march, news was received that the army of Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh had appeared in force on the left, which was under the command of Dastûr Khân and Khudâvand Khân Jatû Khânî, and had attacked it, and that heavy fighting was going on between them and Dastûr Khân and Khudâvand Khân. By the royal command, Miyân Manjhû Khân Begî with his troops hastened to the aid of Dastûr Khân and Khudâvand Khân and fought so bravely that the army of Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh was defeated. Meanwhile, however, news was received that Muqarrab Khân and Salâbat Khân, with a force from Qutb Shâh's army, had attacked the right wing of the royal army, under the command of Kâmil Khân and other amîrs, and that the battle was now raging in that quarter. Mu'tamad Khân, *Sar-i-Naubat*, who was then in attendance on the king, was sent to the assistance of Kâmil Khân, and it was also ordered that Miyân Manjhû, as soon as he had beaten off the enemy on the left wing, should march to the right wing and assist Kâmil Khân in repulsing the enemy there.

Mu'tamad Khân and Miyân Manjhû with their troops joined Kâmil Khân, and the three commanders with their combined forces attacked the Qutb Shâhî troops with great

¹⁶⁵ The alliance between Ahmadnagar and Goleonda and the expedition to Bijâpûr, here described, are not recorded in their proper place. It was in A.H. 977 (A.D. 1569-70), after Murtaẓâ had imprisoned his mother, Khûnzah Humâyûn, and when he was marching against Kishvar Khân of Bijâpûr, who had occupied Kach, near Bîr, and had built the fort of Dârûr, that Murtaẓâ sought aid of Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh. It is impossible to fit in Sayyid 'Alî's account with the events which happened at this time —F. ii. 78, 79, 258, 336.

valour, defeated them, and repulsed them with great slaughter. Mu'tamad Khân Sar-i-Naubat was slain in the fight and Kâmil Khân was wounded, but victory remained, nevertheless, with the troops of the king, and on the death of Muqarrab Khân Qutb Shâhî, who was slain, the hearts of his troops failed them, and they fled and they were dispersed.

After thus dispersing and punishing his enemies, the king proceeded in peace on his way to Ahmadnagar.

LXXIV.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE QUARRELS, INSTIGATED AND FOMENTED BY ENVIOUS TRAITORS, WHICH AROSE BETWEEN KHÛNZAH HUMÂYÛN AND THE KING MURTAZÂ NIZÂM SHÂH.

It has already been mentioned that at the beginning of the reign of Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh the whole of the business of state was carried on by the queen-mother Khûnzah Humâyûn, owing to the king's devotion to sensual pleasures, in which he spent all his time. Khûnzah Humâyûn devoted the whole of her time, except what was spent in religious duties, to public business, and conducted the administration with great wisdom and ability. The queen-mother, at the beginning of the reign, wisely appointed a learned man, remarkable for his virtue, veracity, and good birth as tutor to the young king, in order that he might be instructed in religion, in holy law, in the Qur'an and the traditions, and in wise precepts, and might be weaned from his fleshly lusts. Her choice fell on the learned Maulânâ Husain Tabrizî, who afterwards received the title of Khânkhanân. He, in a short time gained great influence over the king and was distinguished above all the servants of the court by becoming the repository of his secrets, being never absent from his presence, night or day, or in public or in private. When he had thus gained entire influence over the king, ambition and the desire of place and power entered his heart, and forgetting what was for his soul's good, he listened to the temptations of the devil and schemed to obtain the appointment of *vakil* and *pîshvâ*, regardless of the dangers which lay ahead, until at length he suffered what he suffered.

This faithless and treacherous servant told the king in secret that kingship resembled divinity, in that it admitted of no participant, and that in spite of the great power and influence of Khûnzah Humâyûn in the state, which were so evident and notorious as to stand in need of no proof, the affairs of state were not progressing as they should. He added that it was well known that the queen-mother was much attached to the prince and that the king would act wisely in depriving her of all power as soon as possible. The traitor so worked in the king's feelings that he believed that this advice tended to his interest and accepted it. Maulânâ Husain Tabrizî then, forgetting all that he owed to the queen-mother, employed a band of ruffians to seize and imprison both Khûnzah Humâyûn and the prince.

Informers gave news of the conspiracy to Khûnzah Humâyûn and she issued orders that the conspirators should be seized. Some even say that the king, in the extreme simplicity of his heart, disclosed the whole affair to her. Be this as it may; the secret was discovered and the conspirators fled and concealed themselves. Among them were Khvâja Mirak, the *Dabîr*, who afterwards received the title of Changîz Khân and rose to be the king's *vakil*, and Sayyid Murtaẓâ, who eventually became *Amîr-ul-Umarâ* of Berar, as will be related. These men, in fear of their lives, fled and took refuge with 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh.¹⁶⁶ After a while they returned, were readmitted to the royal service, and were distinguished by unmistakable marks of the royal favour. After these events the king again, at the instigation of turbulent men, laid plans for seizing Malika-i-Jahân (Khûnzah Humâyûn).

¹⁶⁶ This account of Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh's first and abortive attempt to free himself from the subjection in which he was kept by his mother, whose influence in the state was most mischievous, does not differ materially from that given by Firishta (ii, 255), except that according to his account the leaders.

In A.H. 970 ¹⁶⁷ (A.D. 1562) Kishvar Khân, the 'Âdil Shâhi, marched towards the Ahmadnagar dominions with a large army and laid the foundations of a fortress at the village of Dârûr. Khûnzah Humâyûn, with the king, the *amîrs*, and officers of state, and the whole army, marched from the capital with the object of meeting the enemy, and encamped in the village of Dhanora, near the capital. Tâj Khân and 'Ain-ul-Mulk, who were the brothers of Khûnzah Humâyûn, and were two of the most important men in the state, were encamped in the village of Jaichand, which was no more than three or four leagues distant from the royal camp, and although repeated messages were sent to them enjoining them to join the royal camp, they omitted to obey them. The conspirators then gained over Farhâd Khân and some other officers of state, and on Rabi'ul-awwal 19, A.H. 970 (Nov. 16, A.D. 1562) by the royal command, appointed Habash Khân, one of the *amîrs* of the court, to arrest Khûnzah Humâyûn. That bold and fearless man hesitated not to commit this act of treason and ingratitude, and entered the queen-mother's pavilion without ceremony and caused her to be violently thrust into a litter. She was then handed over to I'tibâr Khân and others, and removed to Danlatâbâd. The prince who was at that time barely ten, or, according to another account, twelve years of age, was also imprisoned, and was sent to Shivner. 'Ain-ul-Mulk and Tâj Khân, who had always been intimately associated with the administration of the state and of the army, were not then present at court, and the king, therefore, appointed Khyâja Mirak, the *Dabîr*, who has already been mentioned, to a command, and, having bestowed on him the honourable title of Changiz Khân, dispatched him with a force against 'Ain-ul-Mulk and Tâj Khân. Changiz Khân obeyed the order with alacrity and marchied against them. The two *amîrs* perceiving that they were not strong enough to withstand the royal army, fled and separated from one another. 'Ain-ul-Mulk took refuge with Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh and Tâj Khân with Bahârjî ¹⁶⁸. After a while they both returned to Ahmadnagar and lived in retirement on their own lands. ¹⁶⁹

of the conspiracy were Shâh Jamâl-ud-dîn Husain Injû, Qâsim Beg Hakîm, Shâhi Ahmad, and Murtaẓâ Khân, nephew of Jamâl-ud-dîn Husain Injû. Khûnzah Humâyûn had bestowed about half the lands in the kingdom on her brothers 'Ain-ul-Mulk and Tâj Khân, and other relatives, who failed to maintain their contingents. Consequently there were no troops to oppose to Kishvar Khân of Bijâpûr when he invaded the country and established himself at Dârûr. The 'rustians' to whom was entrusted the task of arresting Khûnzah Humâyûn were the African *amîrs*, Farhâd Khân and Ikhîlâs Khân. The plot was discovered owing to the pusillanimity of the young king who, when his mother sent for him to speak to him on business, concluded that she had discovered the plot and was about to depose him, and confessed everything.

¹⁶⁷ This date is wrong by seven years, perhaps owing to a scribe's error. Husain Nizâm Shâh I did not die until Zi-l-Qa'dah 7, A.H. 972 (June 6, 1565); it was not until A.H. 975 (A.D. 1567-68) that Kishvar Khân of Bijâpûr established himself in Dârûr; and it was in A.H. 977 that Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh succeeded in shaking off his mother's yoke. If the day of the month given below is correct, it was on Sep. 1, 1563, that Khûnzah Humâyûn was arrested.

¹⁶⁸ This was the raja of Baglâna.

¹⁶⁹ According to Firishta (ii. 257), 'Ain-ul-Mulk and Tâj Khân were with the royal army when Khûnzah Humâyûn's arrest was effected. His account of the affair is as follows:—Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh, urged thereto by Mullâ Husain Tabrizî, Shâh Ahmad, and Murtaẓâ Khân, asked Khûnzah Humâyûn for permission to go hunting, which was accorded. The next morning he set out with all the *amîrs* except the queen-mother's own immediate followers, and she, suspecting mischief from the number of his following, also took the field, but for some reason returned to the camp before he did. The king sent Habash Khân, 'a harsh old man,' to arrest her, and ordered Farhâd Khân and Ikhîlâs Khân to support him. Khûnzah Humâyûn, on becoming aware of Habash Khân's intention, armed and veiled herself, mounted her horse, and came forth to meet him. He attempted to pull her off her horse, but she drew her dagger. whereupon, grasping her hand, he compelled her to drop the dagger, and, seizing her, put her into a litter and sent her to the king, who sent her to prison. Her brothers 'Ain-ul-Mulk and Tâj Khân were present when she was arrested, but fled without attempting a rescue, the former towards Gujarât and the latter towards Goleonda. 'Ain-ul-Mulk was arrested on the Gujarât frontier, but his brother made good his escape.

After Khûnzah Humâyûn had been detained for a time in Daulatâbâd, she was removed thence to Shivner, and the prince was removed thence to Lohogâh, where he remained in retirement until he was released by the king Husain Nizâm Shâh II, as will be related hereafter in vol. II.

Now that Khûnzah Humâyûn was imprisoned, Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh exercised all the power of the crown without restraint, and with none to oppose or hinder him. The administration was entrusted to Maulânâ Husain who was honoured with the title of Khânkhânân.

When news of the queen-mother's fall and imprisonment reached Maulânâ 'Inâyatullâh, who was imprisoned in Lohagâh, he was exceedingly rejoiced, and without waiting for orders, broke his bonds. He then attempted to leave the fortress and go to court, without waiting for a summons, but the officers of the fortress prevented this and represented the whole matter in writing. As the Khânkhânân was *pîshvâ* and was all-powerful at court, their report came first into his hands. As soon as he had mastered its contents, he feared lest 'Inâyatullâh should come to court, regain his old ascendancy and displace him from the post of *vakîl* and *pîshvâ*. He therefore sent a messenger with orders that Maulânâ 'Inâyatullâh was to be treated with great harshness and severity and then put to death, and when he received news of his death he reported to the king that the Maulânâ had died a natural death. The king was much grieved and affected by the news of the Maulânâ's death. In a short time however, the treachery, baseness, and ingratitude (of the Khânkhânân) came to light and he received the reward of his vile actions. Nothing is blacker or more disgraceful than ingratitude, and the envious man is ever a prey to disappointment.¹⁷⁰

LXXV.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE EXPEDITION OF THE ROYAL ARMY AGAINST THE FORTRESS OF DHÂRÛR AND OF THE DEATH OF KISHVAR KHÂN.

A. D. 1569—70. After Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh had imprisoned Khûnzah Humâyûn and sent her to Shivner and had removed from their places some of those *amîrs* who owed their elevation to her, such as Tâj Khân and 'Ain-ul-Mulk, news was brought to him that Kishvar Khân had built an exceedingly strong fortress in Dhârûr and had ravaged and laid waste all the surrounding country, and had also captured from the royal officers the fortress of Kondhâna¹⁷¹ and was about to march still further into the Ahmadnagar dominions, of which Dhârûr was the frontier post. Now that the king was freed from all anxiety in the matter of Khûnzah Humâyûn, he resolved to march with a strong army against Dhârûr. When Kishvar Khân heard of the intention of the king, he insolently wrote a letter to him saying that he had intentionally left Daulatâbâd to him, and that he had better retire thither and busy himself with the administration of the country dependent on that fortress, for that if he did not follow this advice he would only have himself to thank for what might follow¹⁷².

When the king became aware of the contents of this impudent letter, his wrath and jealousy of kingship were inflamed, and, although his army had not yet joined him and the troops with him numbered no more than 5,000 horse, he, regardless of the strength of the 'Âdil Shâhî army, which numbered more than 30,000 horse, mounted his horse after the evening

¹⁷⁰ 'Inâyatullâh had been imprisoned by Khûnzah Humâyûn, who suspected him of complicity with Kishvar Khân of Bijâpûr. According to Firishta, the Khânkhânân so succeeded in poisoning the king's mind against him that he signed the order for his execution.—F. ii, 256, 260, 261.

¹⁷¹ Kondhâna, properly Khondhâna, was too distant from Dhârûr to have been captured by Kishvar Khân. According to Firishta (ii, 254), it was captured by another force from Bijâpûr. Dhârûr is about twenty-seven miles south-east of Bir.

¹⁷² Firishta (ii, 258) mentions this insolent letter, but does not give its contents.

prayers and pressed on with his small force in advance of his army. His officers, who were with him, endeavoured by various devices to detain him and to prevent him from pushing on; but he would not heed them, and pressed on with great speed by a little known road.

In the morning he reached Dhârûr and besieged Kishvar Khân. Just then Shamshir-ul-Mulk, son of Tufâl Khân, the ruler of Berar, joined the king with a thousand horse,¹⁷³ and as the *amirs* of Ahmadnagar had not yet come up, the accession of this force greatly encouraged the troops and officers with the king. Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh, without paying any heed to the artillery and musketry fire from the fortress, at once attacked it. Kishvar Khân was altogether unprepared for the arrival of Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh, and for his attack on the fortress, and many of the defending force were slain.

Hindiya, one of the 'Âdil Shâhî officers, urged Kishvar Khân to mount his horse and escape from the fortress. But since the evil star of Kishvar Khân Lâri prompted him to oppose the king, he declined to listen to Hindiya's advice and took the field. In the first charge the troops of Ahmadnagar made a breach in the defences of Dhârûr and utterly defeated Kishvar Khân's army, slaying many of them. When Kishvar Khân saw that his men were defeated and that the troops of Ahmadnagar were pressing on, he took refuge in a bastion stronger and less accessible than the rest, and kept those who were attacking him at bay with his bow and arrow. Changiz Khân, however, shot Kishvar Khân through the navel with an arrow, and for ever put an end to his boasting. The royal troops then reached him and brought him before Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh, and he was just breathing his last when he was thus brought before the king. So many of the 'Âdil Shâhî army were slain that the undulations of the ground were filled with their bodies and the broken country became a level plain. A very few managed to escape. All their property, camp equipage, horses, elephants, gold jewels, arms, and munitions of war fell into the hands of the royal troops; and all that was considered suitable for the king's acceptance was collected by his officers, while the rest was left to the troops. The king then caused the head of Kishvar Khân to be paraded throughout his dominions on a spear, and the fame of this went abroad throughout all lands.

It is said that when Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh reached the gate of the fortress he there saw a nosegay full of nails hung up. He asked what the reason of this was and was told that 'Ali 'Âdil Shâh had written to Kishvar Khân saying that since he had built the fortress of Dhârûr and had ravaged the country about it, he might return to Bijâpûr, but Kishvar Khân had replied that he would neither return nor turn back until he had captured Ahmadnagar, whereupon 'Ali 'Âdil Shâh had sent him these nails with a message that the nails would be in the bag of him who returned without taking Ahmadnagar.

When 'Ali 'Âdil Shâh heard that Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh was not in his capital, he set forth with Nûr Khân, 'Ain-ul-Mulk and Zârif-ul-Mulk for Ahmadnagar with the intention of laying waste the country and levelling all the buildings and dwellings with the dust to avenge the death of Kishvar Khân.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷³ Firishṭa does not mention the assistance received from Berar, and it is highly improbable that any was sent. Relations between Ahmadnagar and Berar continued to be most strained, from the time of the murder of Jahângîr Khân (see note 141) and Tufâl Khân's subsequent refusal to join the Muḥammadan alliance against Vijayanagar, until the expedition of 1572-1574 in which Berar was annexed to Ahmadnagar. Sayyid 'Alî's object seems to be to suggest that Tufâl Khân was one of Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh's *amirs*.

¹⁷⁴ Firishṭa (ii, 259) does not say that 'Ali 'Âdil Shâh himself accompanied the force under 'Ain-ul-Mulk, which consisted of ten or twelve thousand horse, and it is improbable that he did so. It was this force which captured Khondhâna (see note 171).

When the king heard of this he sent Farhâd Khân and Changîz Khân with other officers and a large army to oppose the invaders, sending with them most of the royal army from Dhârûr, while he himself remained for a short time in Dhârûr to restore the fortress, which he renamed Fat'hâbâd. He then appointed one of his officers to the command of the fortress and set out on his return journey.

Farhâd Khân and Changîz Khân, with the rest of the *amîrs* and the army, pressed on with all speed and came up with the enemy, and a fierce battle was fought, in which Changîz Khân displayed the greatest valour, and although he received several wounds he continued to fight until he had completely defeated the 'Âdil Shâhî troops. Nûr Khân 'Âdil Shâhî was taken prisoner by the troops of Fîrûz Jang, and 'Ain-ul-Mulk and Zarîf-ul-Mulk were killed. The 'Âdil Shâhî troops fought with great determination, but their efforts were of no avail, and when they saw that their officers were no longer at their head they fled from the field¹⁷⁵.

After this signal victory the royal army, taking Nûr Khân and the head of 'Ain-ul-Mulk with them, rejoined the king and made their obeisance to him, and the *amîrs* who had taken part in the battle were honoured with robes of honour and other distinctions.

These two signal victories, obtained in the same expedition, greatly strengthened the king and his administration of the state.

After thus defeating his enemies the king returned in triumph to his capital.

LXXXVI.—AN ACCOUNT OF MURTAZÂ NIZÂM SHÂH'S EXPEDITION, WITH IBRAHÎM QUTB SHÂH, AGAINST 'ALÎ 'ÂDIL SHÂH, AND OF THE CONCLUSION OF PEACE WITH MURTAZÂ NIZÂM SHÂH BY 'ALÎ 'ÂDIL SHÂH AND OF HIS REVENGE ON IBRAHÎM QUTB SHÂH.

As 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh had repeatedly violated his treaties and broken the peace with Murta.â Nizâm Shâh, Murta.â was constantly devising plans of revenge against him with a view to putting a stop to the strife caused by him. At this time Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh sent an envoy to Ahmadnagar to ask pardon for his former acts of enmity against Murta.â Nizâm Shâh and to conclude a treaty of peace. It was also now reported to the king by the Khânkhânân, who was *pîshvâ*, that the fortress of Bijâpûr was falling into ruins, and that 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh was so careless and negligent that he was paying no heed to the business of repairing it. It was also said that the spirit of the army of Bijâpûr had been broken by the death of Kishvar Khân and other *amîrs*, and the capture of Nûr Khân, all these *amîrs* having been among the leading officers of the Bijâpûr kingdom. The Khânkhânân's advice was that this opportunity should not be missed, but that Murta.â Nizâm Shâh should march with Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh against Bijâpûr, should break the power of 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh and thus free himself from anxiety, and should regain possession of Sholâpûr and of the townships which had formerly belonged to Ahmadnagar.

The king granted the request of Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh and accepted the advice of his nobles. He then issued orders for the assembling of his army, and when the whole army was assembled at Ahmadnagar, he set out to wreak his vengeance on his enemies. Ibrâhîm Qu:

¹⁷⁵ 'Ain-ul-Mulk, Ankas Khân, and Nûr Khân had been ordered to relieve Dhârûr, but they feared to meet Murta.â Nizâm Shâh in the field and sent Kishvar Khân a message to the effect that they would create a diversion in the direction of Ahmadnagar, but the manœuvre failed to draw Murta.â from before Dhârûr, and after the fall of that place he dealt with the relieving force in the manner here described. Changîz Khân had with him the contingents of Farhâd Khân and Ikhlâs Khân, numbering five or six thousand horse. He ordered these two *amîrs* to attack the enemy, and while the conflict was at its height appeared on the scene with forty elephants, 400 of the household troops, and green banners borne aloft. The Bijâpûris, believing that Murta.â was coming against them in person, broke and fled.

Shâh also, agreeably to the treaty which had been made, marched at the same time from his capital with a large army, and the two kings with their armies met and encamped near Wâkdari.

When 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh heard of the offensive alliance between Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh and Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh, he was much perturbed and alarmed, and attributed the alliance to the advice of Sayyid Shâh Abû-l-Hasan, son of the late Sayyid Shâh Tâhir, who was at that time *rakîl* of that kingdom (Bijâpûr). 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh used very violent language regarding Shâh Abû-l-Hasan. Shâh Abû-l-Hasan was very much alarmed by what 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh said and devoted all his attention to making peace. Sayyid Murtaẓâ,¹⁷⁰ who had formerly been in the service of Ahmadnagar and had fled and taken refuge with 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh, owing to the fear of Khânzâdî Humâyûn, was on most friendly and intimate terms with Shâh Abû-l-Hasan, and, relying on the clemency and generosity of Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh, volunteered to go to the Ahmadnagar camp and do what he could to promote peace and compose the strife.

Accordingly he set out from Bijâpûr at dead of night and rode at such speed to the camp of Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh that he covered the distance, which was three days' journey, before the morning. He then stabled his horse and, covering his head in a blanket, made his way towards the royal court. As he could not obtain admission on his own authority, he went to the Khânkhânân's tent. The Khânkhânân asked him why he had come, but he replied that he would give no account of his mission until the Khânkhânân took him into the royal presence. The Khânkhânân thus found himself obliged to report Sayyid Murtaẓâ's arrival and his refusal to declare its object except in the king's presence. A chamberlain then came and escorted him to the royal presence, and when he arrived before the king he made a low obeisance and remained for a long time with his head on the ground. The courtiers told him to raise his head, but he paid no heed to them and remained as he was until the king deigned to ask him why he had come. He then raised his head and began by uttering an encomium on the king and praying for his long life and prosperity. He then proceeded to state the object of his mission and said that Shâh Tâhir's long and faithful service to Ahmadnagar was known to all and that his eldest son and successor had also rendered faithful service to the kingdom of Ahmadnagar and was now like to suffer death on account of his loyal devotion to Ahmadnagar. He then explained that 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh attributed the invasion of Bijâpûr by Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh and Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh to the advice of Shâh Abû-l-Hasan, and that if Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh persisted in the expedition and marched on to Bijâpûr, it could hardly be doubted that Shâh Abû-l-Hasan would be put to death. He also said that if the king would give Shâh Abû-l-Hasan a safe conduct he would visit him. The king replied that if Shâh Abû-l-Hasan would visit him he would be guided by his advice.

When Sayyid Murtaẓâ obtained this answer, which was entirely in accordance with his hopes, and was thus encouraged to hope for better things, he at once took his leave and hastened back with all speed to Bijâpûr to tell Abû-l-Hasan how he had fared. Shâh Abû-l-Hasan was much relieved. He sent a rich *pîshkash* consisting of money, goods, horses, and jewels to Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh, who honoured him by accepting it. The nobles who had taken the field with the king, and especially the Khânkhânân, also sent rich presents to the

¹⁷⁰ This was Sayyid Murtaẓâ Sabzavârî who afterwards re-entered the service of Ahmadnagar, took a prominent part in the conquest of Berar, was appointed governor of that province and afterwards, being defeated in his attempt to overthrow the regent Salâbat Khân, fled from the Dekan and entered the service of Akbar, and was employed by him in the campaign against Ahmadnagar.

king, and Shâh Abû-l-Hasan made great efforts to induce the Khânkhânân to join him in advising the king to stop the war. These efforts were effectual, and the Khânkhânân and the other nobles reminded the king that Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh had been a determined stirrer up of strife and breaker of treaties¹⁷⁷ and that his past treacherous conduct, especially in the affair of Sanganner, was well known. They represented that now that Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh was in the king's power, having himself walked into the snare, the king had an excellent opportunity of avenging himself on him for his past misconduct and of taking from him, without difficulty, the large number of horses and elephants which was one of the chief sources of his pride and power. Such an opportunity they said, might never occur again and was not to be neglected, as the king, after humbling Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh, could easily reduce the fortresses of Kaulâs and Udgîr, which were among the largest and strongest fortresses in these regions, and thus inflict on Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh one punishment after another and display to the whole world the results of bad faith and breach of treaties.

Thus the king, by the advice of the Khânkhânân, granted Shâh Abû-l-Hasan's requests and set himself to take revenge on Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh. Accordingly he commanded that his army should surround the camp of Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh and plunder and slay. The next morning, when the sun rose, the army of Ahmadnagar attacked Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh's camp from every side, pouring showers of arrows into it and attacking their late allies with the sword.

Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh was still in his tent when he was awakened from his sleep by the shouts of the mail-clad warriors. He awoke from his sleep to perplexity, and finding that he could not withstand the foe, abandoned all idea of earning fame by valour in the fight, and leaving his insignia of royalty, all his horses and elephants, his tents, pavilions, and baggage, fled with a few courtiers, while his army, seeing that their king was not at their head, abandoned the fight, dispersed and fled. The army of Ahmadnagar, enriched with the gold and jewels and other spoils of the army of Golconda, came to the royal court. Besides these, large numbers of handsome slave boys and beautiful slave girls, of horses, and of elephant fell into their hands. After the royal share of the spoils had been set apart, the rest was remitted to the army.

When Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh was fleeing in terror before the army of Ahmadnagar, his eldest son, who was a young man of good understanding and great valour, offered to collect such of the troops as he could and to save as much as could be saved of the baggage, camp quipage, elephants and other establishments, and to bring what he could thus save to the royal camp. Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh returned no answer to his son, but the young man's valour and boldness aroused in him such suspicion that when he arrived at his halting place he caused poison to be given to him and thus slew him¹⁷⁸. Wise men attributed the ill-fortune that led him to murder his son to his constant bad faith with Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh.

The writer heard from Sayyid Khaibar Shâh, Mîr Tabâtabâ, who was one of the most famous learned men of his time, and was at that time in close attendance on Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh, that when Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh fled before the victorious army, he alone of all his attendants was with him. Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh turned to him and said, 'These people, who have broken their treaty with me and turned our friendship into strife, will surely suffer in

¹⁷⁷ According to Firishta (ii. 260) 'Alî 'Adil Shâh had received from Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh a sympathetic letter, which Shâh Abû-l-Hasan showed to Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh.

¹⁷⁸ The eldest son of Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh was 'Abdul Qâdir. Ibrâhîm on his return to Golconda, caused him to be imprisoned in a fortress, and ultimately had him poisoned.—F. ii. 260, 336.

their faithlessness, will they not ?' Sayyid Khaibar Shâh made bold to say, 'It is that for this world for which we are suffering now, and we should now lose no time in escaping from this whirlpool of destruction, lest we be overtaken by punishment for what is past.

After the rout of Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh's army, the victorious army of Ahmadnagar marched against the fortress of Udgir, besieged it, and took it by storm. Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh then placed one of his own officers in the fortress, with instructions to repair it. The king then returned in triumph to the capital with his army.

LXXVII.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE KING'S MARCH WITH HIS ARMY TO THE TOWN OF JUNNĀR, AND OF HIS VISIT TO SHIVNER, AND OF THE EVENTS WHICH HAPPENED AT THIS TIME.

After the conclusion of peace between 'Alî 'Adil Shâh and Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh and the flight of Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh, Shâh Haidar and Shâh Jamâl-ud-dîn Husain Injû, who were honoured by close attendance on and association with the king, were, by the royal command, associated with the administration of the state, and by their means the base actions of the Khânkhânân were by degrees brought to the knowledge of the king, until he became estranged from and enraged with his servant, and the Khânkhânân suffered the punishment which was his due for his ingratitude to Khûnzah Humâyûn, and was, by the king's order, imprisoned in the fortress of Jond, the air of which is fouler than that of any other fort¹⁷⁹.

After the disgrace of the Khânkhânân the office of *vakîl* and *pîshvâ* was bestowed upon Shâh Haidar, son of Shâh Tâhir, and Shâh Jamâl-ud-dîn Husain Injû was associated with him in this high office, and these two Sayyids undertook the administration of the state.

At this time the king marched with his army on a tour to Junnâr for the purpose of inspecting the fort of Shivner and enjoying its air. On the way thither Shâh Haidar remained in one of the villages on the road to rest, and the royal army arrived at Junnâr. At this time the wife of Shâh Haidar, who was the daughter of Shâh Qivâm-ud-dîn Nûr Bakhsh, one of the greatest of the Sayyids of Khurâsân and 'Irâq, arrived in the kingdom of Ahmadnagar from 'Irâq, and sent a message to the king requesting him to honour with a visit her lodging, which was on his way. The king acceded to her request and honoured her with a visit. The lady entertained him with choice dishes, beverages and fruits, and presented him with costly gifts, among which was a beautifully written and richly bound Book. The king was much surprised with the lady's knowledge and by the royal entertainment which she had provided for him, and after expressing his thanks returned to his camp.

On the following day Shâh Haidar rejoined the royal camp, and when he heard of the banquet which his wife had given to the king he was much perturbed and annoyed, and in his disgust ceased to have any concern with affairs of state, remaining apart from the royal camp, until it returned to the capital.

When the royal camp reached the fort of Jond, the king, angered by the thought of the murder of Maulana 'Inâyatullâh and of the other evil acts of the Khânkhânân, ordered Bisat Khân to go up into the fort and to subject the Khânkhânân to disgraceful treatment. Bisat Khân obeyed this order and the royal camp then moved towards the capital.

Farâd Khân requested the king to honour his *jagîr* village of Nandgâon, which was near the line of march, with a visit, in order that he might pay his respects to the king there, and the king granted this request and turned aside towards Nandgâon. On the way that army

¹⁷⁹ Firishta says (ii. 261) that the two causes of the downfall of Multâ Husain Tabrizî, Khânkhânân were his having compassed the death of 'Inâyatullâh and his having counselled the plundering of Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh's camp. Sayyid 'Alî seems to have been, for some reason, a partisan of Khûnzah Humâyûn, but the Khânkhânân's share in the destruction of the queen-mother's power can hardly have been imputed to him as an offence, for the measure had been not only a service to the State but a service to Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh personally.

came to a deep river in flood, the passage of which was very difficult. The king, with some of his immediate attendants entered a small boat and proceeded to cross. When the boat reached midstream it was swamped and overturned, and all who were in it fell into the water. The king swam first to one and then another of his attendants, caught hold of them and drew them to the bank one by one until he had saved them all.

When the king reached his camp, he, in accordance with the advice of some of his loyal counsellors, honoured Shâh Haidar by paying him a visit, although Shâh Haidar had neglected affairs of state, the administration of which was now entrusted entirely to Shâh Jamâl-ud-dîn Husain. The king now, having regard to Shâh Haidar's excellent service, summoned his wife from Junnâr, gave her a suitable dwelling house and a gift of a *lakh* of *jangas* for her daily expenditure, and again honoured her with a visit. This lady remained for a long time in India and then, owing to her quarrel with her husband, returned to 'Irâq

LXXVIII.—ON ACCOUNT OF THE KING'S EXPEDITION AGAINST THE TURBULENT FRANKS
AND OF ITS CONCLUSION.

The king's ambition was ever to uphold the honour and glory of Islâm and of the holy law, and as at this time the Franks extended their dominions over the land of Islâm and oppressed and persecuted its inhabitants, the king formed the intention of undertaking a holy war against that people, regarding the abolition of the tyranny of that hellish tribe as the most important affair then before him. He therefore assembled his army and marched to Chaul, a port on the Arabian Sea, where he encamped. The army then laid siege to the fortress of Revdanda,¹⁸⁰ which was the headquarters of the Franks, and opened the campaign. The Franks resisted manfully and fought like men. The siege artillery was brought up by the king's order and opened fire on the fortress, destroying the houses and buildings of the polytheists therein and casting down their standard. The Franks replied with a fire like hail from their guns, muskets, and catapults, and the fight raged fiercely, while the din of the battle rose with a deafening roar to the sky, and the plain was watered with the blood of the brave. Meanwhile an incessant fire was kept up by both sides.

The siege continued for nine months during which time the royal army was night and day under arms, and displayed the greatest valour. The most valiant of all were the Foreigners, the Turks, the men of Dailam, the Arabs, and the Persians. The artillery did great execution among the Franks and against the defences of the fortress, and destroyed most of the buildings, dwellings, churches and places of worship of the polytheists and idolaters. Victory was on the point of declaring for the true believers, but since Shâh Jamâl-ud-dîn Husain, in whose hands the entire management of affairs then lay, wearied of the long

¹⁸⁰ Revdanda, or lower Chaul, was on the same estuary as Chaul, but on the opposite bank. Firishita says (ii. 261) that the attack on the Portuguese was due to their insolent treatment of Muslims. According to the Portuguese, this expedition against Chaul was part of a great scheme, the partners to which were Murtaẓa Nizâm Shâh, 'Alî 'Adil Shâh, and the Zamorin, for expelling the Portuguese from their possessions on the west coast of India, which were to be divided among the partners. The siege of Chaul was opened by Farhâd Khân on Nov. 30, 1569. The commandant, Luiz Ferreira de Andrade, had in Chaul but 50 horse and a small number of foot soldiers and neither provisions nor munitions to enable him to sustain a siege until Dom Francisco de Mascarenhas came to his assistance with 600 men in four galley and five small vessels, besides some barques laden with provisions. In January 1570, Murtaẓa Nizâm Shâh appeared before the place with the main body of his army, so that the besiegers numbered 34,000 horse, 100,000 foot, 16,000 sappers, and 4,000 artificers, with a great train of artillery and elephants. Further reinforcements reached the garrison, but its numbers probably never succeeded 3,000. The siege was raised in Sep. 1570. Its failure was due to treachery. All the *amîrs* of Ahmadnagar, except one, were in the pay of the Portuguese and supplies and provisions were freely conveyed into the fortress by night. For more than nine months an army of over 150,000 men, under the immediate eye of its King, besieged a garrison of 3,000 who slew of their assailants considerably more than their own numbers, and the besiegers were at length compelled to retire discomfited.—See *Danvers*, i. 560.

LXXIX—AN ACCOUNT OF THE CAUSES WHICH LED TO THE INVASION OF BERAR BY MURTAZĀ NIẒĀM SHĀH, AND OF THE CAPTURE OF THE WRETCH, TUFĀL KHĀN, IN CONSEQUENCE OF HIS BREACH OF FAITH AND TREACHERY TO HIS MASTER.

A.D. 1572. 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh was ever watching for an opportunity to break his engagements, and now that he heard that the army of Aḥmadnagar was demoralized, he entered into an offensive alliance with Tufāl Khān against Aḥmadnagar and thus violated his treaty of peace with Murtaẓā NiẒām Shāh.¹⁸²

When informers brought the news of the treaty between 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh and Tufāl Khān to Changīz Khān, Changīz Khān, whose ability in negotiations was unrivalled, advised the king that an envoy should be sent to Tufāl Khān to deter him from displaying hostility to Aḥmadnagar, to advise him to submit to Murtaẓā NiẒām Shāh and to refrain from meeting 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh or from entering into an alliance with him. In accordance with this advice, the king sent Maulānā Ṣadr as an envoy to Tufāl Khān to offer him the advice suggested, but as Tufāl Khān had concluded a treaty with 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh before the envoy's arrival, he would not see Maulānā Ṣadr, nor hear of friendship with Aḥmadnagar. It had been decreed by God that the country of Berar was to fall into the hands of the Sultan of Aḥmadnagar, and that Malik Tufāl Khān, who had been guilty of rebellion against his lord, should fall, and, his evil disposition having in these days been diverted from its usual course, he discontinued the friendly letter which had for years passed between the 'Imād Shāhī kings and the Sultans of Aḥmadnagar and opened a friendly correspondence with 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh of Bijāpūr and raised the standard of rebellion. The natural result of his conduct was his ruin and the ruin of his family and the loss of Berar and all its fortresses, which had formerly fallen into his hands.

When Tufāl Khān in his pride refused even to receive the envoy, Murtaẓā NiẒām Shāh consulted with Changīz Khān and his other officers of state as to the best means of dealing with the enemy. Both the king and his advisers agreed that the best course was to meet and crush 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh before he could join Tufāl Khān; and the king marched with a large army towards Bijāpūr. The army marched with great celerity towards Bijāpūr and laid the whole of the enemy's country waste. Having so devastated the country that no sign of habitation remained, the army then turned towards Ausa and encamped at the village of Rūf.

¹⁸² Firishṭa (ii. 263) gives a different account of the events which preceded the conquest of Berar by Murtaẓā NiẒām Shāh. 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh had apparently had an understanding with former ministers of the Aḥmadnagar State, and especially with Shāh Ḥaidar, brother of Shāh Abū-l-Ḥasan and Jamāl-ud-dīn Ḥusain Injū, who had at one time been in the service of Bijāpūr. With Changīz Khān, the newly appointed *pīshvā*, who had given evidence, at the siege of Chaul, of his incorruptibility, he seems to have had no understanding, and he feared his energy and honesty of purpose. He therefore opened negotiations with Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh with a view to arranging a meeting and entering into an alliance with him. Changīz Khān, in order to prevent this alliance, persuaded Murtaẓā NiẒām Shāh to march towards Bijāpūr. 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh marched to meet him but Changīz Khān averted hostilities and arranged a friendly meeting between the two kings, at which they entered into a treaty. Murtaẓā NiẒām Shāh was to be free to annex both Berar and Bidar, while 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh was to annex an equivalent from the remnants of the Vijayanagar kingdom. The two kings then separated and Murtaẓā NiẒām Shāh set out, in 1572, to annex Berar.

When 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh heard of the approach of the army of Ahmadnagar and of the laying waste of the town of Alan and the surrounding country, he was much perturbed, for he knew that he was not strong enough to withstand the invaders and was disappointed of the help which he had hoped to receive from Tufāl Khān, for the army of Ahmadnagar, which Tufāl Khān was too weak to attack, lay like an impenetrable barrier between his and his ally.

'Alī 'Ādil Shāh now repented him of having begun hostilities against Ahmadnagar, and wished for peace. He marched with his army from Bijāpūr towards the invaders, but on the way he sued for peace, and was very careful not to attack Murtaẓā Nizām Shāh. While 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh was still on his way, he sent Sayyid 'Alī Mu'tabar Khān, who was then *vakil* and *pishvā* of the Bijāpūr kingdom, with rich gifts to Murtaẓā Nizām Shāh, to sue for peace and express his contrition for the action he had taken. The Sayyid fully represented to the king what was in his master's mind, and by means of excuses, apologies, and expressions of regret, succeeded in restoring confidence and in putting the case on such a footing that negotiations were possible.

Murtaẓā Nizām Shāh's chief object was to crush Tufāl Khān, whom he regarded as the author of the strife, and it was impossible to do this without the concurrence of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh. He therefore appointed Changīz Khān to carry through the negotiations in this matter. Changīz Khān, in accordance with the royal commands, set out for 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh's camp and paid his respects to 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh before the fortress of Naldrug, and it was there agreed that the two kings should meet and discuss what arrangements should be made. The two kings then marched to meet one another, and met at the village of Kālā Chūtra, which had been fixed for their meeting.

The treaty which the two kings made between them was to the following effect :—

First, that they should unite in capturing the city of Bidar, which should be handed over to Murtaẓā Nizām Shāh, and that 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh should then march against the infidels of Vijayanagar, while Murtaẓā Nizām Shāh conquered Telingāna and Berar.

On the following day the two armies marched towards Bidar with the object of capturing it.

When the two armies arrived at Bidar, 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh encamped on the bank of the Kamtnna tank and Murtaẓā Nizām Shāh on the bank of a tank close to the city, and both armies laid waste the country on all sides of the city.

After the armies had been halted at Bidar for some days, Changīz Khān came to the conclusion that the conquest of Telingāna and Berar and the punishment of Tufāl Khān were more important than this campaign in Bidar. He therefore sent a messenger to 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh to say that it seemed to him to be a mere waste of time and power that the two armies should sit down before Bidar in order to capture it, although it was clear that one of the armies could not perform the task alone. It was advisable, he said, that 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh should invade Vijayanagar and annex that country, while Murtaẓā Nizām Shāh occupied himself in uprooting and overthrowing the turbulent malefactors (of Telingāna and Berar). 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh accepted this advice and the two armies marched from Bidar. They marched together for two marches, and when they reached the river of Huseināpār, which is three or four leagues from Goleonda,¹⁸³ 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh left Dilāvar Khān, the African, and some other officers with some seven or eight thousand horse to assist Murtaẓā Nizām Shāh, and set out for Bankāpur. Khvāja Ziyā-ud-dīn Muḥammad Samnānī, entitled Amīn Khān, was appointed envoy from the court of Ahmadnagar with 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, and left with him, and Khvāja Ghīyās-ud-dīn Muḥammad, brother of Ziyā-ud-dīn Muḥammad was appointed envoy from Bijāpūr, at the court of Murtaẓā Nizām Shāh, and remained with the royal camp.

¹⁸³ That is to say, from the frontier of the Golconda kingdom.

After the departure of 'Alī 'Adil Shāh, Murtazā Nizām Shāh appointed Amīn-ul-Mulk and his brother Nizām Khān, with a picked force from the army, to lay waste the country around Golconda, while he himself with the main body of the army marched along the bank of the river, and when he arrived at Kanlās, the force which had been sent in advance to devastate the environs of Golconda returned and rejoined the main body of the army, having laid waste and plundered that country. As the rainy season had now begun and movement was very difficult, the king remained in standing camp with his army at Kanlās, and when the rainy season was over, marched thence and invaded Berar by way of Pāthri. Some of the chief officers, such as Khudāvand Khān, Rustam Khān, and others were sent on ahead with the advanced guard.¹⁸⁴

When the royal army reached Pāthri all the inhabitants of that town and the district surrounding it, from fear of the troops, left their dwellings and fled and took refuge in the distant hills (of the Bālāghāt). Since, however, the king's object was the annexation and not the devastation of Berar, Changiz Khān reassured the inhabitants of Pāthri, holding out to them hopes of the royal favour and clemency, and issued to them a written guarantee which so reassured them that all hastened to make their submission and pay their respects at the royal court, where they received marks of the royal favour and were thus enabled to return to their fields and their dwellings and to follow their usual avocations. The civil officers, in accordance with the royal commands, apportioned the whole of the Pāthri district in *jāgīr* to the officers of the army.

News was now brought to the king that Tufāl Khān and his army had set out with a view to undertaking an expedition into the Kandhār country, and the royal army therefore marched rapidly in that direction, lest the king's subjects in that district should suffer at the hands of the invaders. When Tufāl Khān heard of the retirement of the royal army, he abandoned his intention of invading Kandhār and marched towards Bidar.¹⁸⁵ The royal army followed him up march by march, until the two armies met in the neighbourhood of the hunting ground of Bidar at about sunset. The circumstances of the case were as follows:—When the royal army halted, spies brought news that Tufāl Khān with a very large army was encamped in the neighbourhood of the army. Changiz Khān in accordance with the royal command, at once set out with a picked force to attack the enemy. On his approach Tufāl Khān came forth from his encampment and drew up his army in line facing the attacking force. Changiz Khān then sent on in advance a picked body of foreign horse with Shāh Vardī Khān, Sulṭān Qulī Beg Rūmlū, Ahmad Beg Aishār, Shīr Khān Yarāqī, Yūnas Beg, Muẓaffar Anjī, and others, numbering some two hundred, and Tufāl Khān sent 5,000 horse under Shamshīr-ul-Mulk to meet and repulse this force. Some twenty of the foreigners of Ahmadnagar, sword in hand, then hurled themselves on the centre of the enemy's 5,000 horse and slew many. It chanced, however, that an arrow pierced Sulṭān

¹⁸⁴ According to Firishṭa (ii, 263, 264) Murtazā Nizām Shāh, before invading Berar, sent Mullā Ḥaidar Kāshī on a mission to Tufāl Khān, bearing a letter purporting to recall him to a sense of his duty to his master. Murtazā said that Tufāl Khān's regency had been reasonable and natural during the minority of Burhān 'Imād Shāh, but now that the young king had come to years of discretion, it was the duty of Tufāl Khān to release him from restraint, to surrender all authority to him, and to place himself entirely at his disposal. Tufāl Khān showed the letter to his son, Shamshīr-ul-Mulk, and sought his counsel. Shamshīr-ul-Mulk said that the letter was a mere pretext for aggression and that Murtazā Nizām Shāh was evidently bent on invading and annexing Berar. By his advice Mullā Ḥaidar was sent back without an answer, and he rejoined Murtazā Nizām Shāh's camp at Pāthri.

¹⁸⁵ Firishṭa gives no indication of the scene of the fighting between the armies of Ahmadnagar and Berar, but says (ii, 264) that Murtazā Nizām Shāh, after the return of his envoy, marched toward, Elichpur.

Qulî's breast and projected from his back, and his friends lifted him up and bore him from the field. The sun now set and each army retired to its camp. The army of Ahmadnagar passed the night in expectation of the battle on the morrow. At sunrise the royal army formed up in order of battle and was advancing to meet the enemy when spies brought news that Tufâl Khân, overcome with terror, had fled in the night at such a pace that no trace of his army could now be found. The king remained encamped where he was for a few days and sent scouts in all directions to obtain news of the movements of Tufâl Khân. Sultân Qulî Beg, who had been wounded in battle, died, and the king conferred on Ahmad Beg Afshâr, who had distinguished himself by his valour, the title of Qizilbâsh Khân.

The scouts now reported to the king that Tufâl Khân had marched out of the kingdom to Mâhûr. The king then appointed Haidar Sultân Qulî, who then held the appointment of *Sar-i-Khail*, with Mîrzâ Yâdgâr, Chandhâ Khân, Kâmil Khân, and other officers under him to the command of a force which was to remain in the neighbourhood of Kandhâr in order to protect that country from invasion by Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh, while he himself with the main body of the army set out for Mâhûr in pursuit of Tufâl Khân. The royal army marched rapidly, and when it reached the town of Maptâpûr the civil officials of Pâthri reported that Tufâl Khân was encamped near this village. Changîz Khân, in accordance with the royal commands, marched with a force from the royal army against Tufâl Khân. When Tufâl Khân heard of his approach he marched from his camp to meet him. Changîz Khân sent on Ahmad Beg Qizilbâsh Khân, with some other valiant warriors, in advance, in order that they might open the battle. Qizilbâsh Khân and his companions spurred their horses towards the enemy and a body of warriors came forth to meet them. These two forces engaged, and the fight waxed furious and continued until two watches of the night were passed. The two armies then withdrew to their camps, and the wily Tufâl Khân, again dreading a battle with the army of Ahmadnagar, at once marched off and marched all through the night until he had placed a distance of nearly twenty leagues between himself and the royal army. As soon as Tufâl Khân's flight became known, the king dispatched Qizilbâsh Khân with a picked force to pursue him, but, follow as they might, this force could neither come up with Tufâl Khân nor discover any trace of him, and they therefore desisted from the pursuit and rejoined the main body of the army.

The king then appointed Bahrî Khân, Jamâl Khân and Qadam Khân to the command of a force to besiege Mâhûr and left them at Pâthri while he, with the main body of the army, marched in pursuit of Tufâl Khân, annexing the fortresses and districts of Berar as he marched, and apportioning them among his army. The people of the country were not molested, but were kindly treated and reassured, so that they lived peaceably in their houses and went about their usual avocations. Among the evidences of the king's victory and *prestige*, which daily strengthened his position and displayed the might of his army, was the following occurrence. The emperor Jalâl-ud-dîn Muhammad Akbar was at that time marching to Gujarât with a large army in order to wrest the country from Muhammad Husain Mîrzâ, son of Baiqara, and his brothers, who had gained possession of it and had proclaimed their independence. Muhammad Husain Mîrzâ, the eldest and the bravest of the brothers, had died, so that the other brothers and their army were scattered, and their bravest warriors came and entered the service of Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh, and thus every day a fresh band of them came and paid their respects at court and were received into the royal service. Thus the royal army grew in strength from day to day, while the enemy daily lost men and grew

weaker and more disheartened. Among those then who had the honour of entering the royal service were Asad Khân, whose subsequent exploits and promotion to the highest rank will be mentioned hereafter, 'Adil Khân Mangî, Bâi Khân, and other officers and brave men, a list of whose names would be tedious.

The royal army continued the pursuit of Tufâl Khân; and Khudâvand Khân, Rustam Khân and the other officers with the advanced guard remained still a day's march ahead of the main body of the army and a day's march behind Tufâl Khân.

LXXX.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISASTER WHICH BEFELL THE ROYAL ARMY.

After Tufâl Khân had twice disgraced himself by fleeing before the royal army, the *amîrs* of the royal army, and especially Khudâvand Khân and Rustam Khân, who commanded the advanced guard, began, in their pride and their contempt of the enemy, to neglect the most ordinary precautions of an army in the field and to spend their time in idleness, making no attempt to ascertain the disposition or whereabouts of the enemy, while the enemy, on the other hand, lost no opportunity of acquainting themselves with the condition of the royal army. Shamsîr-ul-Mulk, the son of Tufâl Khân, having satisfied himself of the negligence and carelessness of the *amîrs* of Ahmadnagar, attacked Khudâvand Khân with a large army at the time when the *amîrs* were engaged in drinking. The attack was so sudden that the *amîrs* were completely surprised. They had no opportunity of even girding on their arms or of going forth to the fight, and were forced to flee. Rustam Khân and a few valiant companions preferred death on the field of battle to a shameful existence, and faced the foe manfully. Khudâvand Khân, aroused from the sleep of negligence and the drunkenness of pride, bethought himself of his good name and of the disgrace which he was incurring and, regardless of the flight of most of his men and of the numbers and bravery of the enemy, turned back from his flight with a few companions and threw himself on the enemy's centre and fought most valiantly, slaying many of the enemy, both man and horse, with his sword, and clove a way for himself through the host. At this moment his eye fell on his own standard which was being carried off by a body of the enemy. He at once rode towards them, but found his way barred by a fierce elephant. He struck the beast such a blow with his sword that he cleft its trunk as if it had been a cucumber, and the enemy seeing such determined valour left his standard and fled. Khudâvand Khân, having thus overcome the enemy, contrived to separate several elephants from their army and he raised his standard against them. Although these valiant efforts of Khudâvand Khân saved the honour of the army, Rustam Khân and most of his men were slain, and all the baggage, camp equipage, transport and elephants of the army, with the royal standards and ensigns, fell into the hands of Shamsîr Khân.

After the defeat of the royal army, Shamsîr Khân retired from the field to rejoin his father, and when the news of his retreat spread through the royal camp, the king issued an order to Khudâvand Khân, forbidding him to advance until he was joined by the main body of the army. The main body then advanced by a forced march and reached the scene of the battle, where the royal pavilion was pitched. The officers of the advanced guard were then reproached and rebuked for their neglect and lack of caution and everybody who had displayed bravery in the action was promoted. It was then ordered that nobody should thenceforth separate himself from the main body of the army, nor act independently of it in any way, and that all should be extremely watchful and wary lest the enemy should make a night attack on the army. The army then set forth again in pursuit of Tufâl Khân, and the distance between him and the royal army was steadily maintained at a day's march.

never more and never less. Tufâl Khân was not strong enough to turn and oppose the royal army and the latter could not march fast enough to overtake Tufâl Khân.

As the king had issued orders that nobody in the army should vex or harass the inhabitants of Berar in any way, all the people readily submitted to and obeyed the royal commands, and paid their land revenue to the king, while the land was apportioned in *jâgîr* to the *amîrs* and officers of the army.

At this time Chaghatai Khân, one of the *amîrs* of Tufâl Khân, having asked for a safe conduct, came in and submitted to the king and was received in the royal service and highly honoured.

Tufâl Khân, who had long been harassed and hard pressed, was now reduced to great straits, and the army of the Dakan was also weary. Tufâl Khân fled to Burhânpûr and took refuge with Mîrân Muḥammad Shâh.¹⁸⁶ Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh therefore sent a message to Mîrân Muḥammad Shâh, saying that Tufâl Khân had been guilty of ingratitude and treason to his own master, and had then, in defiance of treaties, declared war against the kingdom of Ahmadnagar and when the army of Ahmadnagar marched against him, had in terror taken refuge in Burhânpûr. The message went on to say that it was hoped that Mîrân Muḥammad Shâh would remember, observe, and be willing to renew the treaties which had long existed between the Nizâm Shâhî and Fârûqî dynasties and would refrain from stirring up strife or harbouring offenders against peace and would use his endeavours to promote peace and goodwill between the two kingdoms.

Mîrân Muḥammad Shâh feared to oppose the wishes of Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh, and at once expelled the wretched Tufâl Khân from his country. He received the envoy with great humility and treated him well, and then dismissed him with honour. He then set out in person to meet Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh.

The meeting took place on the bank of a river named Parandî. Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh crossed the river with a few of his courtiers and Mîrân Muḥammad Shâh paid his respects to him. At the end of the interview a *Qur'ân* in the handwriting of Alî, the Leader of the Faithful, was produced from Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh's library for the purpose of the oaths to be taken for the confirmation of the treaties and engagements entered into. Mîrân Muḥammad Shâh pointed out that this was the *Qur'ân* which had been used for the treaty entered into with Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh. Nevertheless it was afterwards Mîrân Muḥammad Shâh who broke the treaty.

Now that Tufâl Khân could find no place of refuge or rest in any country, he resolved to shut himself up in one of his forts. He therefore separated from himself, like his own good fortune, Shamshîr-ul-Mulk, who was in truth the right arm of his kingdom, and dispatched him to Gâwîl, while he, with infinite difficulty, threw himself into the fortress of Narnâla.¹⁸⁷

When spies brought news of Tufâl Khân's taking refuge in the fortress to the royal camp, the army of Ahmadnagar set forth on his track and on reaching Narnâla, surrounded the fort and laid siege to it, encamping around the lofty hill on which it is built.

¹⁸⁶ This was Muḥammad Shâh II, the tenth of the Fârûqî dynasty of Khândesh, who reigned from Dec. 19, 1566 to 1577-78.

¹⁸⁷ Narnâla, in 21° 15' N. and 77° 4' E., on the southernmost range of the Sâtpûra hills, is one of the three hill fortresses of Berar, the other two being Gâwîl, the old fortress capital, in 21° 22' N. and 77° 23' E., also in the Sâtpûra hills, and Mâhûr, in 19° 50' N. and 77° 59' E., to the south of the Penganga.

The fort of Narnâla is famed for its great strength throughout India, nay, throughout the whole inhabited world. It is built on a high and inaccessible hill surrounded by deep and well nigh impassable valleys. The sides of the hill are covered with dense forest which made passage all the more difficult, threaded by but one narrow winding path from the base of the summit of the hill, dark from the overhanging trees and full of rolling stones.

Until Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh appeared before Narnâla, the fortress had never been captured and no fortress had been seen like it in the world, except the fort of Gâwîl, which in strength and loftiness is superior to the generality of forts, and is the counterpart of Narnâla.

When Tufâl Khân found no place of rest or refuge on the face of the earth, he sent his son, with a number of his tribesmen and relatives, to Gâwîl, while he himself, with his treasures and all his movable property, took refuge in the mountains and, in great grief and vexation, made Narnâla his place of shelter and rest, and raised his standard against the invader.

Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh sent a force under some of his chief *amîrs*, such as the Khânzamân, Rustam Khân, Mâlî Khân, Bahrâm Klân and Bahâdur Klân, to besiege Gâwîl, and impressed on the officers the necessity for caution and patience. Then the Khânzamân was detached from this army and ordered to rejoin the king at headquarters, Bahrâm Klân being appointed commander of the force for Gâwîl, while the king in person proceeded to besiege Narnâla and set all in order for the siege.

The *amîrs* and the troops were posted in the stations allotted to them around the fort and began to push forward the trenches. They also set themselves to cut down the forest and to make smooth the stony portions of the hill.

The wise *vazîr*, Asad Khân,¹⁸⁸ who had at this time entered the royal service, and was a valiant and experienced soldier, specially skilled in siege works and artillery, devoted all his attention to the capture of this fortress and toiled much to carry the siege guns near to the defence; and Sayyid Murtaẓâ, who was in command of all the *silâhdârs* made such efforts to ensure the success of the siege as caused him to be the recipient of renewed favours from the king, so that he was advanced to the position of *Sar-i-Naubat* and subsequently to that of *Amîr-ul-Umarâ*. Since there was little love between Changîz Khân and Sayyid Murtaẓâ, the latter's good services bore little fruit in the former's life-time, and the king, in deference to his minister's prejudices, showed Sayyid Murtaẓâ but little outward favour, but the day that Changîz Khân died, Sayyid Murtaẓâ was made *Sar-i-Naubat*, as will shortly be related.

At this time, while the siege was in progress, news was received by the king that Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh's army had attacked the troops of Ahmâdnagar on the borders of the Kandhar district, and that the royal troops, unable to withstand the invaders, had suffered a defeat. The king was much annoyed by this news and ordered that the force which had been left to besiege Mâhûr should hasten to the support of the defeated army, and, acting in concert with it, should resist the advance of Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh's troops.

At the same time Haidar Sultân who had been in command of the army of Kandhâr, was recalled to headquarters and Mîrzâ Yâdgâr, the Sayyid, was appointed to the command of that army. The *amîrs* set out from Mâhûr and joined the defeated army in Kandhâr. At this time the army of Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh was encamped at the village of Tamrî and the distance between the armies was no more than two *gât*.¹⁸⁹ When the army of Golconda heard that the army of Kandhâr had been reinforced, they marched from Tamrî and did not halt until they reached Kaulâs.

¹⁸⁸ Asad Khân, a Georgian, had formerly been in the service of Gujarât. He and Sikandar Rûmî Khân, son of Hâbashî Rûmî Khân, commanded the artillery at the siege of Narnâla.—F. ii, 267.

¹⁸⁹ The *gât* is an ancient measure of distance, the lengths attributed to which vary greatly. Sayyid Ali seems to use it for a distance of about four miles.

and his officers, while the civil officers made out schedules of all the 'Imâd Shâhî and the Tufâl Khânî treasure in Gâwîl, a schedule of which the schedule of Qârûn's treasure might well have been a rough draft, and submitted it to the king. The governors of provinces and the commandants of other forts and posts in the kingdom of Berar having heard of the capture and the disgrace of Tufâl Khân, came to the court of the king of the Dakan with swords and shrouds hung round their necks and gave up the keys of their forts and of their treasure chests. They then submitted themselves entirely to the Nizâm Shâhî kingdom.

'Âlî 'Âdil Shâh was by no means pleased with the conquest of Berar, the capture of its fortresses and the imprisonment of Tufâl Khân and his sons by Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh and heard the news with much perturbation and dissatisfaction, and Khayâja Ziyâ-ud-dîn Muhammad Amîr Khân, the Ahmadnagar envoy at the court of Bijâpûr, was at the instigation of Muṣṭafâ Khân, and of the friends of his own brother, I'tibâr Khân, who was the envoy from Bijâpûr to the court of Ahmadnagar, put to death. The circumstances of this affair are as follows: Although 'Âlî 'Âdil Shâh, urged thereto by the necessities of the time, had consented to the conquest of Berar by Ahmadnagar and had even detached two or three officers of rank with a force of several thousand horse, in order that they might, as has been mentioned, assist in the operations to be undertaken, he was yet most unwilling to allow the kingdom of Ahmadnagar to grow more powerful, and had told I'tibâr Khân, who was his envoy at the court of Ahmadnagar, that whenever it appeared that Tufâl Khân was reduced to extremities and that the army of Ahmadnagar was about to conquer Berar, he was to report the state of affairs to Bijâpûr at once. I'tibâr Khân not only failed to carry out this order, but sent to his master dispatches in accordance with the interest of Ahmadnagar and thus played him false until the conquest of Berar was a *fait accompli*. Although Amîn Khân had made great efforts to secure the freedom of Muṣṭafâ Khân and had succeeded so well that he had not only obtained his release from the fort of Panâla, but had caused him to be promoted to the office of *vakîl* and *pîshvâ*. Muṣṭafâ Khân, forgetting the maxim that 'for favour nothing should be returned but favour,' persuaded 'Âlî 'Âdil Shâh that I'tibâr Khân's negligence and disobedience were due to the instigation of his brother, Amîn Khân, and so enraged him that he ordered the execution of Amîn Khân. Muṣṭafâ Khân at length received the punishment due to his misdeeds, and was slain, in his eightieth year, by a man named Amîn Khân.¹⁹³

After the conquest of Berar, Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh apportioned its towns and *parganas* in *jâgîr* to the great *amîrs* who had signalled themselves by bravery in the campaign, such as Jamshîd Khân, Khudâvand Khân, Rustam Khân, Chandhâ Khân, Bâhî Khân, Mîrzâ Qulî Khân, Shîr Khân Barrâqî, Maqṣûd Âqâ and others, appointing Khatîât Khân Kâshî commander in chief over them. Bahrâm Khân Gilânî, was appointed commandant of Gâwîl and Sayyid 'Âlî Zahrî-ul-Mulk, commandant of Narnâla.

The king with his army then set forth to conquer the kingdom of Bidar.

¹⁹³ Shâh Abû-l-Ḥasan had been dismissed in 1573 from the post of *vakîl* and *pîshvâ* of the Bijâpûr state, having been held responsible for the bursting of a big gun at the siege of Torkul, and the Sayyid, Muṣṭafâ Khân Ardistânî had been appointed in his place. Muṣṭafâ Khân was eventually strangled by one Muhammad Amîn acting under the orders of Kishvar Khân, his offence being that many of the officers of the army wished to replace him in the position of *vakîl* and *pîshvâ* at a crisis in the affairs of Bijâpûr—F. ii. 80, 96.

When Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh heard of the conquest of Berar and of the advance of the army of Ahmâdnagar towards Bîdar, he was much alarmed and considered within himself that after the complete subjugation of the kingdom of Berar with its twenty thousand fine cavalry and its numerous and strong forts both in the plains and in the hills, the capture of the fortress of Bîdar, in spite of its reputation for strength, would seem to be a small matter to the army of Ahmâdnagar, and that the army might, after its capture, march on Telingâna (which God, he prayed, forbid!) when it would be extremely difficult for him to withstand them. He therefore openly courted the friendship of Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh, and sent the Sayyid, Mîr Zainal, to the royal camp to conclude a treaty of peace. He secretly, however, sent a message to Mîrân Muḥammad Shâh, Sulṭân of Khândesh, saying that although Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh had, after putting forth great efforts, possessed himself of Berar, yet the hearts of the subjects and *zamîndârs* of that country could not already be thoroughly reconciled to the dominion of Ahmâdnagar, and that Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh had now marched towards Bîdar and had left the vast kingdom of Berar without a responsible ruler. He proposed therefore, that Mîrân Muḥammad Shâh should invade Berar and with his help, conquer it without difficulty, when he would gladly hand over the country to him.

Mîr Zainal arrived at the royal camp, and Changîz Khân, in order not to offend 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh, had him lodged privately in Jamshîd Klân's quarters, and introduced him secretly to the king. His requests were granted and he received permission to depart after having successfully carried out his mission.

When the royal army reached Mâhûr the king heard that disturbances had broken out in Berar, and that Mîrzâ Qulî Klân had risen in rebellion and had, at the head of a band of ruffians, slain Khattât Khân. It seems that Mîrzâ Qulî Khân and his gang had gone to the quarters of Khattât Khân at midday, the time when everybody takes a *siesta*, had slain the doorkeeper who opposed their entrance and had then entered and slain Khattât Khân himself. Mîrzâ Qulî Khân then made off towards Burhânpûr and before the rest of the *amîrs* had heard what had happened, or could start in pursuit, Bânû Khân, with a force of valiant men had started in pursuit of him and had overtaken him and attacked him. The fight was long and fierce, but at last, by God's blessing, the rebels were defeated, and many were slain. Mîrza Qulî Khân and a few of his companion fled and with much difficulty, and after suffering many hardships, succeeded in making their escape.

The king, with a view to quieting these disturbances, appointed Khurshîd Khân, the *Sar-i-naubat*, commander-in-chief of Berar, and proceeded on his way without a halt until he reached Udgîr. Here the *amîrs* who were encamped at this place and were awaiting the arrival of the royal army, were admitted to the presence and received marks of the royal favour. Here also Changîz Khân, the *vakil* and *ṛîshvâ*, fell seriously ill, and, as the rainy season was now approaching, the royal army encamped at Udgîr for some time.

While the army was encamped at Udgîr, Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh sent Sayyid Shâh Mîr Ṭabâṭiba,¹⁹¹ one of the most learned and eloquent men of the age, to the royal court in order that he might obtain the confirmation of the treaties of peace and alliance existing between the two kingdoms, and obtain fresh treaties to the advantage of both parties.

When the king heard of the arrival of Shâh Mîr he ordered that the envoy should be accommodated just without the camp, and await orders. After this the king went out

¹⁹¹ Firishta styles this envoy Shâh Mîrzâ Isfahânî, ii. 269, 270, 337.

hunting with Changiz Khān and others of the chief *amīrs*, such as the Khānzamān, Jamshīd Khān, Khudāvand Khān and Bahri Khān seated on the *chīla* carts, and as he came forth from the camp, Mir Shāh Mir appeared before him, paid his respects, and delivered the message with which he was charged. The Mir, having received a favourable answer then returned to his master.

It was now that the king heard that Mirzā Quli one of the bravest officers of the army, having rebelled, and having at midday, which is the time when all take rest, attacked Khatṭāt Khān's quarters with a gang of ruffians, slaying the doorkeeper who opposed his entrance, and afterwards slaying Khatṭāt Khān himself, had come forth and opposed Bānū Khān, who, with a body of valiant men, had come to attack him. A sharp fight took place in the streets and bazars and the rebels were driven forth into the open plain and were at length defeated, some being slain, and the rest taking flight. Mirān Muḥammad Shāh, who had been led astray by Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh, and had also received help from 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, was now blinded to his true interests by his desire to possess Berar and was minded, in accordance with the dictates of his own evil fortune, to violate his treaties with Murtaẓā Nizām Shāh, to his own ruin and destruction, as will afterwards appear.¹⁹⁵

Mirān Muḥammad Shāh having thus cast covetous eyes on Berar, sent Zain-ud-dīn, his commander-in-chief, with a large army, into that country with orders to expel the Nizām Shāhi army and annex the country to Khāndesh. Zain-ud-dīn, with an army of nearly 20,000 horse, invaded Berar and stretched forth his hands to vex the Nizām Shāhi officers there. The *amīrs* of Berar, when they heard of the approach of the large army of Burhānpūr, all left their outlying *parganas* and assembled at Elichpūr in order that they might, after taking counsel with Khurshīd Khān, the commander-in-chief, offer a united resistance to invaders. The only exception was Chaghatāi Khan who, standing fast in his own country, as soon as there was any cause for anxiety, sacrificed his own *jāgīr*.

After the *amīrs* had assembled in Elichpūr, Khurshīd Khān, finding himself unable to withstand the numerous army of Burhānpūr, withdrew to Gāwīl and was besieged in that fortress. The *amīrs* and chief officers perforce withdrew from the neighbourhood of Gāwīl and marched against a corps of the army of Burhānpūr which was besieging Narnāla. The two armies met before Narnāla and a fierce battle ensued in which the *amīrs* of Berar, who were under no responsible commander-in-chief, were defeated and lost all their baggage. They then retreated with a view to joining the royal army, but were pursued by the army of Mirān Muḥammad Shāh, which came up with them on the banks of the Parandī river and again attacked them with great determination. The army of Ahmadnagar, though it fought with great bravery and several times repulsed the enemy, was unable, without a responsible head as it was, to withstand successfully a force which so largely outnumbered it, and the army of Mirān Muḥammad Shāh was at length victorious. Maqsūd Āqā, the *Sar-i-naubat*, and most of the usually victorious army, were so overcome with panic and confusion, that they were drowned in the river, and the few who escaped and with great difficulty, reached the opposite bank, made their way to the royal camp in Udgir.

The king, on hearing of Mirān Muḥammad Shāh's action, regarded the reconquest and pacification of Berar as more important than any other business which was before him and at

¹⁹⁵ According to Firishta (ii. 268), Muḥammad Shāh Fārūqī II did not openly announce his intention of annexing Berar, but invaded it ostensibly in support of a foster-brother of Burhān 'Imād Shāh, whom he represented to be his real brother—F. ii. 268.

once marched towards Berar. He placed all the Foreign troops, with several of the *amirs* in the advanced guard under the command of Sayyid Murtaẓâ and followed this force towards Berar with the main body of the army, marching with great speed until he entered Berar.

Sayyid Murtaẓâ, with the force under his command, reached the town of Bâlâpûr one morning and encamped there. When Sayyid Zain-ud-dîn heard of the arrival of the royal army in Berar, he became alarmed and, realizing that it would be folly on his part to remain in Berar, he set out for Khândesh.¹⁹⁶

On the following day at sunrise the main body of the royal army arrived at Bâlâpûr, and Sayyid Murtaẓâ, with the advanced guard, set out in pursuit of the enemy who, in their terror, fled in all haste to Burhânpûr, halting nowhere by the way. When the king heard of the flight of the enemy, he thought it well that there should be no delay in the matter of taking vengeance on the forsworn Mirân Muḥammad Shâh, and marched, without halting, to the banks of the Tapi.

When Mirân Muḥammad Shâh heard of the approach of Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh he would tarry no longer at Burhânpûr but, setting his country and his goods, his crown and his throne, against his life, he fled with a few of his most intimate courtiers and took refuge in the fortress of Asîr. The royal army then crossed the river and entered Burhânpûr, which was a very paradise with its houris and its mansions, and sacked and burned the city. The king remained for days in the city, enjoying himself, while his army plundered rich and poor, and took possession of the crown and throne of Mirân Muḥammad Shâh, and of the goods of his army, and also of all hoards and treasures, whether open or concealed. All collected taxes were given to the army. The army received so much gold, jewels, precious stuffs valuable merchandise, so many horses and elephants, and all manner of goods, that they could not gather and transport them. Among the plunder was a vast pit full of grain from which the whole of the royal elephants and horses were fed, while such large quantities were given to the *amirs* for the use of their horses and troops that they were enabled, after satisfying all wants, to sell much of it; and the supply was not even then exhausted. The rest of the plunder was on the same scale.

After the sacking of the city of Burhânpûr the royal army marched from the city to besiege Asîrgarh,¹⁹⁷ Changîz Khân being in command of the advanced guard. When Mirân Muḥammad Shâh heard of the approach of the army of Ahmadnagar, he sent Sayyid Zain-ud-dîn, who was *vakil* of the kingdom of Khândesh, with a large army and several elephants, to oppose its advance, and the army of Mirân Muḥammad Shâh and the advanced guard of the army of Ahmadnagar met between Burhânpûr and Asîr. A fierce battle ensued in which the advantage lay at first with the army of Burhânpûr, and the advanced guard of the royal army was on the point of suffering a defeat. As soon as the king heard of the insolent persistence of the enemy, his wrath burst into flame, and calling for his horse he mounted it and dashed off towards the field without taking time even to arm himself properly. The *amirs*, who were in attendance on him, tried to dissuade him from going personally into the fight, saying

¹⁹⁶ According to Firishta, the army of Ahmadnagar marched by way of Rohankhed. Muḥammad Shâh Farûqî II had not himself invaded Berar, but was halting on the frontier, awaiting events. On the approach of the army of Ahmadnagar he fled to Asîrgarh—F. ii. 269.

¹⁹⁷ Firishta's version of this event is as follows :—Changîz Khân, who had heard much of the fortress of Asîrgarh, was desirous of inspecting it and, with the permission of Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh, set out to do so with an escort of 2,000 horse. Muḥammad Shâh Farûqî sent against him a force of seven or eight thousand horse, and ordered the *amirs* who accompanied it to surround Changîz Khân's force and put him to death—F. ii. 269.

that that was the business of themselves and of the troops under them. With some difficulty they prevailed on him to stay where he was and send a force to the aid of the advanced guard. At that moment news was received that Changiz Khān had attacked the enemy with great dash and determination, and had defeated and dispersed them, slaying many and taking many prisoners, and capturing also several elephants. The king was much rejoiced by this news and pressed on with the main body of the army towards Asir. The army of Mirān Muḥammad Shāh, which was encamped around the fortress, was smitten with terror and fled, leaving the whole of their camp equipage, baggage, goods, and chattels in the hands of the victors. The royal army pursued them to the borders of the dominions of the emperor Akbar, slaying all whom they overtook. Much spoil fell into their hands and they laid waste the whole country about Asir and Burhānpūr.

When the royal pavilion was set up over against the fortress of Asir, commands were issued that the siege should be begun, and the army surrounded the fortress.

The fortress of Asir is situated on a very lofty hill and is so strong that it has baffled the attempts of many to take it. The rock on which the fort is built is so high and smooth, and has been so scarped that the ascent of it is impossible, and the fort can be approached only by a very rough and difficult road cut in the rock, while its walls and bastions are beyond the reach of artillery. From the day of its foundation to this time it had never been captured and had never been surrendered.

The royal army, having now surrounded the fortress, closed all roads of ingress and egress to the besieged. Mirān Muḥammad Shāh, who had been induced by Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh to break his faith, now saw that his conduct would have no other result than the ruin of his country and the dispersal of his subjects, and therefore set himself to beseech the king for pardon and forgiveness. He sent the Khānkhānān, who had formerly been a servant of the court of Ahmadnagar and whose great power as *wakil* of that kingdom has already been mentioned, as an envoy to the court of Murtaẓā Nizām Shāh to pray for pardon for his faults and transgressions and to promise payment of nine lakhs of *Muzaffari* rupees as *na'ī-bāhā*¹⁹⁸ to be paid whenever the royal army should retire from before Asir and arrive at Burhānpūr. Changiz Khān and the rest of the *amirs* and great officers of state then appeared before the king and interceded for Mirān Muḥammad Shāh and the king graciously accepted their advice and pardoned him, and the army moved from before Asir and set out on its return journey. When the army had crossed the river of Burhānpūr (the Tāpti) and encamped on the southern bank of the river, Mirān Muḥammad Shāh kept his promise and sent the stipulated sum to the royal treasury. The promise had been to pay eight lakhs of *Muzaffari* rupees to the royal treasury and one lakh to Changiz Khān. When the money came Changiz Khān refused to accept his share, but at length, in accordance with the royal command, he accepted it and distributed it among the troops. Then the royal army marched from the bank of the river and encamped at the town of Bālāpūr. Here Sayyid Shāh Mir¹⁹⁹ arrived as an envoy from Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh with royal and costly gifts and having been admitted to an audience by means of Changiz Khān and other *amirs*, he undertook in his master's name that whenever

¹⁹⁸ *Na'ī-bahā* is money paid to an invading army to induce it to abstain from plunder and devastation. Firishṭa says that the indemnity amounted to 1,000,000 *Muzaffaris*, viz :—600,000 to Murtaẓā Nizām Shāh himself and 400,000 to Changiz Khān.—F. ii. 269.

¹⁹⁹ Shāh Mirzā Iṣfahānī. This appears to have been his second mission to the court of Ahmadnagar F. U. 269, 270, 337.

the army should march against Ālī Ādil Shāh, 20,000 *hāns* should be paid to them at each stage by Sultan of Golconda. The chief men of Vijayanagar also promised that they would contribute seven lakhs of *hāns* to the royal army as *na'ī-bahā*.

At this time one Husain Khān,²⁰⁰ who had risen from the dregs of the people to rank and honour and was enrolled among the king's servants, and of whose affairs an account will be given hereafter, conspired with other of the courtiers to compass the downfall of Changiz Khān and by means of money bribes, and fair promises, gained over to his side a party who, with him, made it their business to slander Changiz Khān, and daily perverted and misrepresented to the king all his acts until they estranged the king from him. Among other things they said that the whole army regarded themselves as the servants of Changiz Khān and would never parade at court until Changiz Khān appeared. In order to prove this charge, they raised one of the curtains of the royal pavilion on the side to which the king faced, and enabled him to see the truth of the fact which they had stated. The king was at this time already becoming suspicious of his wise minister and this charge had a great effect on his mind. One of the matters which made the king suspicious of his minister, was the following. The king always took great care to inquire into the affairs of the soldiers of his army and frequently sent trusted messengers among them with this object, and, without the knowledge of Changiz Khān, would send them bags of gold with strict injunctions that these gifts were to be kept secret. As a consequence, every individual soldier who was in any need freely brought his wants to the notice of the king and profited by his profuse liberality. All this could not long be concealed, and Changiz Khān, who also inquired into the affairs of the soldiers, soon discovered it. He, having in view the necessity of protecting the royal treasury from unnecessary and extravagant expenditure, turned back many who came to court with a view

²⁰⁰ Husain Khān was the vile favourite of Murtaẓā Nizām Shāh, and is better known by his later title of *Sahib Khān*. He first attracted the king's attention at the siege of Narnāla. According to Firishṭa, Shāh Mirzā Isfahānī, the envoy of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, was the prime mover in the plot against Changiz Khān. He had offered Changiz Khān a bribe of 200,000 *hāns* to dissuade his master from invading Bidar. Changiz Khān refused the bribe saying that his master supplied all his wants and that his intention was to overthrow the king of Bidar, who was a Sunnī, in order that there might be but three kings in the Dakan all Shī'ahs, who would live in amity and unite to oppose any aggression from Delhi. Shāh Mirzā, being thus foiled, turned his attention to the favourite, and told Husain Khān that Changiz Khān intended to seize Berar for himself and to establish himself as independent ruler of the country. Husain Khān lent a ready ear to these suggestions, for the king had ordered Changiz Khān to punish him for some insolence of which he had been guilty and Changiz Khān had seen that the punishment was sufficiently severe. Husain Khān now repeated to the king Shāh Mirzā's accusation against Changiz Khān, but the king rebuked him and told him that he knew that he had a grudge against Changiz Khān, whereupon Husain Khān referred him to Shāh Mirzā himself. The king sent secretly for Shāh Mirzā and questioned him. The envoy repeated his accusation and Murtaẓā, still loth to believe it, resolved to test Changiz Khān. He feigned to be weary of his sojourn in Berar and to be anxious to return to Ahmadnagar. Changiz Khān urged him to stay for six months more, in order that the newly conquered country might become accustomed to his rule, and then to return to his capital, leaving him in charge of the administration for a time. The king regarded this proposal as confirmation of Shāh Mirzā's charge and from that day his manner to Changiz Khān changed. Changiz Khān, observing the change, abstained from attending court, on the plea of sickness. This only increased the suspicion against him and his master sent to him Hakim Muḥammad Miṣrī, ostensibly to treat him, but really as the bearer of a poisoned draught. Changiz Khān took the draught and, as the poison was working, wrote a letter to his ungrateful master, protesting his fidelity and recommending to him some of the Foreign *amīrs* and his own contingent of Foreigners. After his death some letters from Shāh Mirzā, which proved his innocence, were found among his papers, and the king, on reading them, was overcome with grief and shame, and caused Shāh Mirzā to be expelled from his camp—F. ii. 267-278

to receiving gifts, and this appeared to the king to be an act of great harshness, for he regarded it as abominable that the needy should be turned away from his court. Thus the king's distrust of his minister, fomented by the conspirators, grew day by day, until matters reached such a pitch that Changiz Khān became apprehensive for his life, and, giving up all hope, threw himself on a bed of sickness and put far from him all ambition and all zeal in the royal service. All soon became aware of the change in the king's disposition towards his minister and each formed his opinion on it, all believing that it was the king's unprompted will that Changiz Khān should be disgraced. Changiz Khān's sickness now increased and his limbs swelled and suppurated. The skilful physical Hākim Muḥammad Miṣri, who was famous for his knowledge of his art and was a trusted and intimate servant of the king, treated the patient and bled him, although his friends in their sympathy would have prevented it. But all was of no avail. The king now, hearing of the condition of Changiz Khān, set out to visit him in the sickness which he himself had caused, but the messenger of death was on the wing and made no delay in his journey, and before the king could reach his minister, Changiz Khān died²⁰¹ and his soul hastened to its home.

Changiz Khān was distinguished for wisdom and resourcefulness above all the *vazīrs* of his age. He was brave and highminded and in the short time during which he held the office of *rakīl* and *pīshvā* he raised the power of the Ahmadnagar kingdom to its zenith, added a large kingdom like Berar, with all its forts and fortified posts, to the kingdom, treated with Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh and 'Alī 'Adil Shāh as inferiors, and had ever before him as an object, the conquest of the kingdom of Bidar; but in the end death disappointed him of the completion of his design. At the same time that Changiz Khān died, Tufāl Khān died in the fort of Lohogārḥ and it was an extraordinary coincidence that the coffins of these two met on the banks of the Parandī as Tufāl Khān was being carried for sepulture to Elchīpūr and Changiz Khān's body was being borne to Ahmadnagar.

After the death of Changiz Khān the office of *rakīl* and *pīshvā* was bestowed on the physician as skilful as Plato (Hākim Muḥammad Miṣri) and Sayyid Murtaẓā was appointed *Sar-i-naubat*. The royal army then returned to the capital, marching with such speed that they covered a distance of eighteen *gāũ*, that is to say thirty-six leagues, in one stage. The king, on his return to Ahmadnagar bestowed favours on the Sayyids, the *Maulavīs*, the learned men, and the people and inhabitants generally, and now that he had leisure for his designs of conquest, he also paid attention to the wants of the army and to the learned. Maulānā Ṣadr-ud-dīn Ṭālaqānī was at this time admitted to the intimacy of the king and so progressed in the royal favour that in a short time there was none in the court more trusted or more intimate than he. The general opinion is that it was owing to his influence that Murtaẓā NiẒām Shāh conceived a distaste for public business and for the society of the officers of state, as will be hereafter set forth.

Another who came into prominence at this time was the learned and accomplished Qāṣi Beg 'Ilīrānī, who was appointed to the high post of *Vakīl*. Sayyid Murtaẓā was promoted from the *sar-i-naubatī* of the left wing to the *sar-i-naubatī* of the right wing, and Ṣalābat Khān, an account of whom will be given hereafter, was appointed to the *sar-i-naubatī* of the left wing. In a short time Sayyid Murtaẓā was raised to the degree of *amīr* or rather to that of *amīr-ul-umará*, and Ṣalābat Khān was appointed to the *sar-i-naubatī* of the right wing.

²⁰¹ In the original MS. a blank is left here for the date. Firishta says (ii. 271) that Changiz Khān died in A.H. 982 (A.D. 1574-75) but does not mention the day or the month.

At this time the king withdrew himself from public business, and carried his avoidance of it so far that he entirely shunned the company of men.

Another person who obtained promotion about this time was Husain Khân, who at length became well known under the title of Sâhib Khân. He was at first a seller of fowls, and was employed in this capacity about the royal kitchen when the king's kind's glance fell upon him, and Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh pitying his wretched state, raised him from the dust of disgrace to the height of honour, and his power and influence became so great that, like all mean and lowly born people so raised, he became tyrannical and oppressive and stretched forth his hands to the shedding of the blood and the unveiling of the honour of bond and free, and had even a design of sharing the kingdom, thus raising strife and disturbances which led to the ruin of the kingdom and the dispersal of its subjects, and in the course of which he perished.

In his early days of office as *vakil*, Sayyid Qâẓi Beg managed the affairs of the kingdom with unlimited power, under commission from Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh giving him absolute authority to act in all matters in his name and purporting to transfer to him the king's responsibility to God for his dealings with his people.²⁰²

The king also commanded that a 'chain of justice' should be hung in the plain of the *Kâlâ Chabûtra* and that a court of justice composed of several of the leading officers of state should sit daily in that building to hear such cases as should be brought before them. Sayyid Qâẓi Beg saw that this court of requests sat, as commanded by the king, and devoted his time to serving the interests of the king's subjects, whether small or great.

At this time Ghiyâs-ud-dîn Muḥammad, entitled I'tibâr Khân, who was the envoy at the court of Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh from 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh, displayed a forged order, purporting to be under the hand of Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh, to the effect that the king had bestowed upon I'tibâr Khân the jewelled waistbelt which had been received in the royal treasury from the kingdom of Vijayanagar, and that it should be given to him without delay. Qâẓi Beg and the rest of the great officers of state, regarding such a gift as in keeping with the king's generosity, yet agreed that some consideration was necessary before the belt was given to I'tibâr Khân, but Mu'tabar Khân, who then held the office of *Divân*, submitted a petition to the king to the effect that I'tibâr Khân had produced what purported to be a royal order regarding this belt, but that as its value was so high that it was not considered that anybody save the king himself could worthily receive it, further orders were awaited. In reply to this the king wrote saying that he had no knowledge of any such order as that produced by I'tibâr Khân, but that as I'tibâr Khân had founded his hopes on the royal generosity, the belt should be delivered to him without delay and that he should not be accused of forgery. Mu'tabar Khân did not obey the royal command that this matter should be kept secret, but published all the circumstances, so that I'tibâr Khân's forgery became known to all.

²⁰² Firishta says that Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh, on his return to Ahmadnagar from Berar, assembled the principal Foreign *amîrs* and told them that he was not fit to rule, as he was incapable of discriminating between justice and injustice. He feared the judgment of God, and therefore proposed to retire from the world and attempt to atone by penance for the murder of Changîz Khân. He transferred the administration of his kingdom, with all the responsibility attached to it, to Sayyid Qâẓi Beg Yazdî; he took them all to witness that he was no longer responsible for the administration, and he cited them to bear witness for him to this effect at the last day. He authorized Qâẓi Beg, if he could not perform his duties alone, to associate to himself Amin-ul-Mulk, Mirzâ Muḥammad Taqî, and Qâsim Beg. He then retired to the Baghdâd palace, where Sâhib Khân was the only person admitted to his presence—F. ii. 271, 272.

When the king heard of Murtaẓā Khān's disobedience he degraded him from the post of *dirān* and imprisoned him, at the same time sending the belt to I'tibār Khān. It would, in short, be impossible to recount all Murtaẓā Nizām Shāh's acts of generosity and munificence.

Another officer who, after the return from Berar, attained the rank of *amir* was Asad Khān, who had performed eminent services in the capture of the various fortresses of Berar, especially Narnāla, and had served the artillery extremely well. After attaining to the rank of *amir*, he daily advanced in the royal favour until he ultimately became *vakīl* and *pishvā*.

At this time news was received by the king that a person in Berar named Firūz Shāh giving himself out to be of the 'Imād Shāhi family, had risen in rebellion, collected the scattered remnants of Tufāl Khān's army and defeated the officers who held Berar on behalf of the king, so that most of the *zamīndārs* had forsworn their allegiance to Ahmadnagar. The king appointed Sayyid Murtaẓā, who had then attained the rank of *amir* and was governor and *jāgīrdār* of Bir, to the governorship of Berar, with the rank of *amir-ul-umard* investing him with a special robe of honour.

Sayyid Murtaẓā marched towards Berar, and when he reached Jālnāpūr, Jamshīd Khān, with troops under his command, joined him, and the *amirs* of Berar, as he approached that country, joined him. Sayyid Murtaẓā, with his large army, advanced into Berar and halted not until he reached the town of Bālāpūr. When Firūz Shāh heard of the advance of the army he, realizing that he could not withstand it, fled before it, pursued daily by Sayyid Murtaẓā and his troops, who were only one day's march behind him. At last, weary of ceaseless wandering, he threw himself into the fort of Āmner Charbī.²⁰³

While Firūz Shāh was thus throwing Berar into confusion, bands of misguided Gond rose in rebellion and laid waste several of the border villages. Sayyid Murtaẓā therefore sent Mirzā Yādgar, Chandhā Khān, and some other officers to besiege Āmner Charbī, while he, with rest of the army, marched against the rebellious Gonds with the object of laying waste Gondwāra. He destroyed several of the villages and parganas of Gondwāra and carried fire and sword through that country, while the *amirs* who had been left to besiege the fort, succeeded in capturing it and slew Firūz Shāh. Sayyid Murtaẓā, having completed the devastation of Gondwāra and utterly subdued the rebels, returned to Ahmadnagar and had the honour of being received by the king.

Shortly after this it was reported to the king that the emperor Akbar, with an innumerable army, had entered Mālwa and was there engaged in fishing in the Narbada.²⁰⁴ The

²⁰³ This is Amner on the Tāpti, in 21° 32' N. and 76° 51' E. known as Amner-Jalpī from a neighbouring *pargana* town, the two *parganas* being always mentioned together. The 'Gonds' here mentioned are the Korkus of the Melghāt, in northern Berar, and 'Gondwāra' is their country, the Melghāt. They are always called Gonds by Muhammadan writers, an error made by the British officials appointed to administer Berar on its assignment in 1853, and for some years afterwards. They differ from the Gonds both in race and language.

²⁰⁴ This report was not quite correct. On Sep. 16, 1576, Akbar set out from Agra on his annual pilgrimago to Ajmer, arriving there on Sep. 27. He marched in person as far as Dipālpūr (22° 51' N. and 76° 33' E.) in the *sarkār* of Ujjain, and on Feb. 27, 1577, dispatched a force under Quṭb-ud-dīn Khān to Hāndesh, where Rāja 'Alī Khān, who had just succeeded Muhammad Shāh II, had withheld tribute, relying on help from Ahmadnagar. Rāja 'Alī Khān made his submission and the force returned. Akbar having satisfied himself that all was quiet in the Dakan, returned to Faṭhpūr Sikrī, arriving there on May 9, 1577.

king, as a precautionary measure, secretly made over Muẓaffar Ḥusain Mīrzâ Bâiqarâ,²⁰⁵ who was then at Ahmadnagar, to Asad Khân and sent with him to the borders of Berar, a large number of officers, with their troops in order that they might be prepared to resist any invasion of his dominions. Orders were also issued to Sayyid Murtaẓâ, directing him to march with the army of Berar to the frontier and to co-operate with Asad Khân in resisting any invader.

Asad Khân with Muẓaffar Ḥusain Mīrzâ and the rest of the officers set out for the borders of Berar, and Sayyid Murtaẓâ, in obedience to the orders which he had received, assembled the army of Berar and marched towards the frontier in order to be ready to oppose the emperor Akbar. The two armies met on the bank of the Purandī²⁰⁶ which is the boundary between Burhānpûr and Berar, and encamped there. The *amīrs* now decided that the presence of Muẓaffar Ḥusain Mīrzâ in their camp was undesirable, and they therefore made him over to Bahri Khân and sent him to the town of Daryâpûr in Berar.

When Mīrân Muḥammad Shâh²⁰⁷, Sultan of Burhānpûr, heard of the approach of the army of Ahmadnagar, he sent most of his *amīrs*, with their troops, to its support, and the armies met on the banks of the Purandī, the army of Burhānpûr remaining encamped on the north bank while Sayyid Murtaẓâ and Asad Khân remained on the south bank. The main body of the royal army now moved from the capital and marched to Daulatâbâd²⁰⁸ where the royal pavilion was pitched on the bank of the *Qutluqiyyah* tank. Sayyid Murtaẓâ and Asad Khân kept daily watch on the frontier at the Purandī river, but engaged daily in hunting, while prepared at all times for battle.

Akbar's spies continually reported to him these movements and he, surprised and perturbed at this preparedness, took counsel with his *amīrs* and the officers of his army, saying that the Nizâm Shâhî army had taken the field before him and was now ostensibly engaged in hunting without displaying any fear or alarm, and inquiring whether any of his counsellors were in favour of war. All agreed that it would not be wise to fight, for if they should defeat the army of Ahmadnagar they would have performed no great feat, while if, on the other hand, they should be defeated they would have to endure the shame of it for ever. This advice commended itself to Akbar, and he retreated. Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh, acting on the principle that peace was a good thing, sent Vafâ Khân to the court of Akbar with rich and costly gifts and thus opened peaceful negotiations.

Asad Khân and Sayyid Murtaẓâ then retired from the frontier and joined the royal camp at Daulatâbâd where they had an audience of the king, and the royal army then returned to Ahmadnagar. Sayyid Murtaẓâ and his officers were dismissed with much honour to Berar.

LXXXII.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE REBELLION OF MUẒAFFAR ḤUSAIN MĪRZÂ IN BERAR, AND OF ITS SUPPRESSION.

After Muẓaffar Ḥusain Mīrzâ had been sent, as seemed good to the *amīrs*, to the town of Daryâpûr, ambitious designs began to shape themselves in his heart and, with a party

²⁰⁵ Muẓaffar Ḥusain, one of the rebellious 'Mīrzās,' Akbar's distant cousins, had been taken by his mother to the Dakan after Akbar had defeated the Mīrzās in Gujarât.

²⁰⁶ There is no river of this name, and the Tâpti, not the Pârna Nadi, is the boundary between Berar and Khândesh.

²⁰⁷ This should be Râja 'Alī Khân, who had now succeeded his brother Muḥammad.

²⁰⁸ According to Firishta (ii. 272) Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh marched to Daulatâbâd with a force so inadequate that his advisers protested, and begged him to await reinforcements.

The Qutluqiyyah tank was a tank constructed by Qutluḡh Khân, governor of Daulatâbâd for several years under Muḥammad Tughluq (A.D. 1325-1351).

some of the lower classes discussing this matter between themselves one night, and, being annoyed by the rumour, issued an order for a general massacre of the lower classes: but a wise man will readily perceive the insufficiency of this reason, for it is inconceivable that a religious king who, as will have been seen from the account already given and as will be evident from what shall be related hereafter, was most scrupulous in executing justice and in observing the commands of the sacred law, should, regardless of the accounts to be rendered by him on the day of the judgment, order a general massacre of the people merely because he had heard a few persons discussing a false and groundless rumour, while the guilt or participation of the great majority of the inhabitants had never been proved.

Some say that at the time when the general massacre was ordered, some of the royal servants whose duties kept them in close attendance on the king, noticed that close to the sleeping chamber of the king a shed was erected and the likeness of a man's head, made in copper, studded with many iron nails, was set up in the midst of this shed or pavilion, and the issue of the order for the massacre was in some way connected with these arrangements; but this seems to be scarcely sufficient to account for the issue of the order.

Some again say that the king was one night strolling around his palace, when he met, near his own private pavilion, a man. The matter was inquired into and the man proved to be a *khawâss* disguised as a groom, who had obtained access to the neighbourhood of the king's private apartments under the pretence of attending to the royal horses. The king was much enraged and issued an order for a massacre of three classes of the people, (1) the lampmen, who are called in the speech of the Dakan, *Dcofi*, and who are entrusted with the duty of keeping watch at night, (2) the grooms, who are called *Dângs*, in the disguise of one of whom the man had obtained access to the neighbourhood of the king's private apartments, and (3) the *khawâss*, i.e., the royal servants. It is evident that this reason for the massacre is more satisfactory than the others that have been given.

In any case by reason of some offence known only to the Knower of Secrets, about a thousand people were sent to the next world.

LXXXIV.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISPATCH OF SOME OF THE *AMÏRS* WITH THE ROYAL ARMY TO THE COUNTRY OF 'ALÎ 'ÂDIL SHÂH FOR THE PLUNDER AND DEVASTATION OF THAT COUNTRY, AND THAT KING'S RETREAT.²¹²

When 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh heard that Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh had withdrawn from all participation in public business and that Changîz Khân was no longer alive, he set himself once again to stir up strife and sent an army into the Ahmadnagar kingdom to plunder and lay waste the country and slay its inhabitants. Information of the approach of the army was brought to Sayyid Qâzî Beg and he, having contrived to gain access to the king, laid the matter before him. In accordance with the royal commands, several of the *amirs*, such as Bâmi Khân, Muḥammad Ḥusain Mirza, one of the bravest and most experienced soldiers of his time, some account of whom already been given, 'Âdil Khân Begî, Shâhvardi Khân the Kurd, and Malik Muḥammad Khân Hiravî, each of whom was a very tiger in war, were sent with an army to meet and attack the invaders. This army marched with great rapidity into the 'Âdil Shâhî dominions, laying waste the country and slaying all whom they met.

'Alî 'Âdil Shâh and his army feared to meet this enemy and, retreating hastily, took refuge in Bijâpûr and remained shut up there, declining to come forth to fight, even though the invaders laid waste the country up to the walls and arrived at the Shâhpûr gate. As

²¹² Firishta makes no mention of this campaign which has perhaps been invented by Sayyid 'Alî or the glory of the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. It is, however, highly probable that some frontier skirmishes took place about this time.

After the dismissal of Qāzī Beg, the wise, prudent, and brave Asad Khān was appointed *vakil* and *pīshvā*.²¹⁵

At this time the vile wretch Ṣāhib Khān, some account of whom has already been given, was prompted by his base nature and disposition to vex the people, and to shed innocent blood and outrage the honour of the poor. To such an extent did he slay and plunder the king's subjects, that the tyranny and injustice of Shaddād the son of 'Ād appeared like the justice of Naushirvān beside the enormities which he committed. As the king had retired altogether from the business of the state and had left all power in the hands of this wretch, a gang of low-born and low-bred ruffians, the fellows and companions of that scoundrel, gathered round him and incited him to further acts of tyranny and injustice, so that the greatest sages of the time were unable to find a remedy for the state of affairs brought about by his atrocities, or the tyranny of him and his associates, under which the people and the army alike were groaning.

When the tyranny and injustice of Ṣāhib Khān towards all men, but especially towards, the foreigners, who believed that they were specially chosen as the subjects of his oppression, passed human endurance and the slaying and plundering of foreigners both in the city and in the country became a common occurrence, and when at last Mīr Mahdī, a Ṣafavī Sayyid, became a martyr by Ṣāhib Khān's orders,²¹⁶ 'Ādil Khān, Bānū Khān, and other officers and *silāḍārs* went in a body and unanimously complained of the favourite's tyranny. But Ṣāhib Khān was now the only person who had access to the king and he represented that the foreigners were traitors to their salt, and were rising in rebellion. The cries and shouts of those who sought but justice lent colour to Ṣāhib Khān's story²¹⁷ and the king, without any inquiry into the truth of the matter, issued an order for the slaughter of these oppressed people, and Ṣāhib Khān and his satellites, who were prepared for the success of their designs, attacked the foreigners. The Dakanī mob favoured the oppressors and the signal for the slaughter and plunder of the foreigners went forth on all sides and the mob rose to plunder and slay, so that the blood of the foreigners ran in rivers through the city and their dead lay piled in heaps, the mob slaying every foreigner whom they met. 'Ādil Khān and Bānū Khān, with some of the bravest of the foreign troops, fled to Bijāpūr, leaving the weaker foreigners, mendicants and traders, in the hands of the mob.

²¹⁵ Firishta says (ii, 276), that Asad Khān had nothing but the name of *vakil* and *pīshvā*, and that all power in the state was wielded by Ṣalābat Khān.

²¹⁶ Firishta says (ii, 274) that Ṣāhib Khān attempted to abduct Mīr Mahdī's daughter and, on meeting with resistance, attacked his house with two or three thousand men. Mīr Mahdī's sons, who were in the service of Ṣāhib Khān, guided the assailants to the back of the house, where Ṣāhib Khān's elephants destroyed the wall. Ṣāhib Khān's men then entered the house and slew the Sayyid.

²¹⁷ According to Firishta it was immediately after the defeat of Ṣāhib Khān by Ḥusain Khān Tarshizi that he raised the Dakanīs and Africans against the foreigners. Ṣāhib Khān, covered with dust, appeared before the king and falsely accused the foreigners of having risen in rebellion with the object of deposing him and raising to the throne his son, Ḥusain. The king appeared at the head of the Dakanī troops and the foreigners, seeing that he had taken the field against them, retired to the kingdoms of Bijāpūr and Golconda. Those who remained in the city were slaughtered, and Qāzī Beg and Sayyid Murtazā, who had not taken part in the strife, informed Ṣalābat Khān that he must somehow contrive to bring the facts of the case to the king's knowledge. Ṣalābat Khān succeeded in presenting a petition to the king without Ṣāhib Khān's knowledge and received orders to prevent Ṣāhib Khān from re-entering the city. Ṣāhib Khān prepared to attack Ṣalābat Khān who, not having a force sufficient to oppose him, withdrew to Mānikdaund, twenty-eight miles east of the city.

all bounds, and in the extremity of his folly, ignorance, pride, and arrogance aimed at royal power, and had gone forth into the land oppressing the people and raising strife everywhere until the people, the army, the *amīrs* and the officers of state could endure his tyranny no longer and had left their land and hereditary homes in a body, while tumults arose everywhere and on all sides. They said that unless the king took the field in person against this rebel he might soon become so strong that it would not be possible to overthrow him. They so plied the king with arguments of this nature that orders were at length issued to the effect that Sayyid Murtaẓā and the *amīrs* of Berar should march against Ṣāhib Khān, and either bring him to Ahmadnagar or drive him forth of the kingdom, and thus free the people from his tyranny.

Sayyid Murtaẓā, who had for years been anxious for permission to act thus, seized his opportunity and sent Jamshīd Khān, Khudāvand Khān, and Bahrī Khān with other officers and a body of troops as an advanced guard to act against Ṣāhib Khān, while he followed them. These *amīrs*, marching with the rapidity of the wind, came up with Ṣāhib Khān at the village of Ranjani.

Ṣāhib Khān was quite ready to fight and began to prepare for battle, but the *amīrs* sent a message to him to say that they had come not to fight, but to pay their respects to him. The fool believed them and hastened forth to meet his death. When the *amīrs* met that prince of evil-doers they at once slew him and quenched the fire of strife and tyranny with the water of the sword, freeing the people of the country and of the towns from his oppression.²²⁶

When the news of Ṣāhib Khān's death was brought to the king he was much grieved and vexed, and conceived a hatred for all the *amīrs* and officers of state. He withdrew entirely from all public business and formed the intention of abdicating and of retiring entirely from the world. He frequently told his more intimate courtiers that he devoutly and sincerely wished to repair what was past and to atone for his past errors, to which end he proposed to retire altogether from the world and to devote the rest of his life to an attempt to secure eternal happiness. He said that he had a desire to travel and to make pilgrimage to Makkah, Madīnah, and to other holy places, to spend the rest of his life in acquiring merit for the world to come, and after life's worldly disputes to attend to his own welfare. He said that he knew that the affairs of the state could not go on without a just ruler, that in this matter reference should be made to the Sayyids, who were the true rulers of men, and that they should select one of them, who should seem to be most fitted for the office, to manage the affairs of the state in order that he himself might abdicate. The courtiers would not assent to the king's proposal, and said that they were unable to find anybody who would be equal to this great task. But the king had become weary of his crown and, with a few of his confidants, passed over secretly, in the guise of a *darvīsh*, into Humāyūnpūr. When the *amīrs*, the officers of state, and the officers of the army became aware of the king's

²²⁶ According to Firishṭa, Ṣāhib Khān sent to Bahrī Khān, the Qizilbāsh in Ranjani, demanding his daughter in marriage and Bahrī Khān replied that it was not fitting that a fowl-seller should mate with the sisters and daughters of *amīrs*. Ṣāhib Khān marched on Ranjani, and Bahrī Khān, who had not sufficient force to oppose him, fled to Jālma, where he joined Jamshīd Khān Shīrāzī. Meanwhile Sayyid Murtaẓā Sabzavārī, in obedience to the royal command, sent Khudāvand Khān and other *amīrs* to Ṣāhib Khān to advise him to return at once to Ahmadnagar, but secretly instructed Khudāvand Khān to kill Ṣāhib Khān if he could. The mission was joined at Jālma by Jamshīd Khān and Bahrī Khān and then went on to Ṣāhib Khān's camp, where they sarcastically begged that they might be admitted to the honour of an interview. Ṣāhib Khān, who was drinking wine and apparently intended to receive them with scant respect, failed to perceive the sarcasm and gave orders for their admission. On perceiving that they were armed, he rose to receive them with proper ceremony. Khudāvand Khān, while embracing him, cried out that Ṣāhib Khān was trying to crush him, and suddenly putting forth his strength crushed Ṣāhib Khān's ribs, throw him to the ground, and finished him with his dagger. Ṣāhib Khān's force then dispersed. Sayyid Murtaẓā reported to the king that he had obeyed his commands with regard to Ṣāhib Khān, but that when his messengers had reached his camp Ṣāhib Khān had foolishly attacked them, and had lost his life in consequence. The king was much grieved by his favourite's death, but the satisfaction was so general that he could not venture to take any steps in the matter.—F, ii, 278.

design, they hastened after him and had an audience of him near Humāyūnpūr. Here they, with the Sayyids and learned men, saluted him and implored him to resume the reins of government, saying that God had created him to rule the kingdom, that the regulation of the affairs of all its inhabitants depended on him, that to forego so great a task was reprehensible in the eyes both of God and of the people, and that as the happiness of the world depended on the due exercise of authority, no greater act of worship than this could be conceived. The king replied that he was sick of worldly affairs, that he was firmly resolved to make a pilgrimage to the tomb of 'Alī, and that they might elect whom they would to the throne, and leave him in peace. The Sayyids, the learned men, the *amīrs* and *vazīrs*, chief among them Sayyid Shāh Ḥaidar, bowed their heads to the ground and earnestly told the king that his design was neither wise nor permissible by the sacred law, as its fulfilment would lead to strife and disturbances and the ruin of the country and its people; and especially of the Sayyids and learned men from *Khurāsān* and *Irāq* who had lived in peace and happiness under the protection of the king and who, by his removal of himself from the head of affairs, would be plunged into grief, trouble and annoyance, a state of affairs which could not be but displeasing both to God and to His prophet. The arguments of the Sayyids and learned men convinced the king and he desisted from his purpose of abdicating, and appointed Shāh Ḥaidar *vakīl* and *pīshvā*, at the same time saying that as God had entrusted the government of His people to himself, so he in like manner handed the care of them and their affairs to Shāh Ḥaidar, whom he enjoined so to deal with the people thus placed under his care that he might earn their gratitude and God's reward, by promulgating the divine commands and insisting on the observance of the sacred law.

When the king had concluded his counsels to Shāh Ḥaidar, he returned to the capital and passed his time in ease and enjoyment in the fort of Ahmadnagar, entrusting the whole administration to Shāh Ḥaidar, before whom all the *amīrs* and officers of state used to assemble and transact the business of the kingdom.

When Shāh Ḥaidar had acquired the supreme power in the state, he forgot the king's counsels and decided questions in accordance with his own personal predilections so that in a short time not only the great officers of state, but all the army, were loud in their complaints of him, for they feared and abhorred his violent behaviour and his easily excited wrath, and Maulānā Vālihī, one of the most witty and versatile men of the time, satirized him in the speech of *Khurāsān* as follows:—

'The king's mind in his cups was not so distraught

As the people were dissatisfied with Asad Khan's *pīshvā*.'

نوقت کيف چنان شر دماغ پریشان نہ کر خلق راضی بر پیشوای اسدخان نہ

Although Asad Khān had made great endeavours to bring about Shāh Ḥaidar's elevation to the office of *pīshvā*, Shāh Ḥaidar was very suspicious of him, and was ever compassing his overthrow. At this time he made a pretext that some *amīrs* should be sent to the borders of Burhānpūr in order that they might guard the kingdom from the inroads of enemies. Asad Khān, with a number of other *amīrs*, was appointed and was dispatched to Daulatābād.

One affair, which alienated all, both gentle and simple, from Shāh Ḥaidar, was his conduct in the matter of the *jāgīrs*, which had originally been granted to the late Shāh Tāhir. Some four hundred *parganas* had been thus allotted and these were now all held in *inām* by various *amīrs* in close attendance on the court. Shāh Ḥaidar, without any *farmān* from the king, transferred the whole to his own name and thus transferred from their holdings many who were not willing to leave them, even when receiving compensation. This matter distressed the king greatly and although he endeavoured to prevail on the dispossessed *amīrs* to accept other *jāgīrs* in lieu of those which they had lost, he failed to do so.

At this time the king gave orders for the preparation of a great banquet, and the officers and servants of the household set to work to prepare it, and on this occasion Shāh Ḥaidar ignored the orders which he had received from the king in the matter of prohibiting forbidden

and removed all prohibitions from them. When the king was informed of this val of prohibitions, he wrote to Shâh Haidar asking how he, a Sayyid, could thus set right the commands of the Sacred Law and how he could justify his breach of the royal bands. Shâh Haidar made many excuses and endeavoured to appease the king, but no purpose, and one day in the course of the feasting, the king, on the pretext that he d to walk in the garden of the watercourse, parted from all the *amîs* and *vazîrs*, who enjoying themselves, and made off to Daulatâbâd. The first person to discover his ce, and to follow him and pay his respects, was Şalâbat Khân. When Shâh Haidar and the officers of state and courtiers discovered that the king had left for Daulatâbâd, they ed him with all haste and paid their respects to him, some, while he was on the way, some in Daulatâbâd itself. When the king reached Daulatâbâd, he summoned Asad who was encamped with his troops in that neighbourhood, and addressed them in *darbâr*, saying that he was tired of the business of the state and of worldly affairs and sed to make a pilgrimage to Makkah. All present implored the king not to abandon ip of state, pointing out that he alone had been chosen by God to guide it and that his ion of it would be displeasing to God and would lead to the ruin of the kingdom and its itants. Before all the rest, Sayyid Mir Muhammad Muqîm Rîzavî uttered affecting in the endeavour to turn the king from his purpose, and all the learned men delivered in accordance with the scriptures and traditions, and with tears implored the king not ve them, until at length the king, taking compassion on his subjects, abandoned oject. He then called Asad Khân to him in private and again requested him to under- he office of *vakîl* and *pîshvâ*. Asad Khân declared that he was unable alone to under- he duties of so responsible a post, and requested that Şalâbat Khân might be associated him in the office and might relieve him of some of its duties. Şalâbat Khân was a asian slave whom Shâh Tahmâsb, Shâh of Persia, had sent as a gift to the late king. it, readiness and knowledge had advanced him in the royal service and he daily advan- dignity until at length he ascended the seat of the *vakîl* and *pîshvâ*, as will be set forth. ing tried hard to persuade Asad Khân to accept office without a colleague, but Asad persisted in his refusal to accept it unless Şalâbat Khân were associated with him. At the king said, 'You are now making Şalâbat Khân your colleague of your own free will, he day will come when you will repent it and will taste the bitterness of collaboration aim.' And the king's words came true, for Şalâbat Khân mastered Asad Khân, and day y deprived him of some power in public business until at length he brought about smissal and threw him into prison, as will be seen.

asad Khân then, in accordance with the royal command, introduced Şalâbat Khân to esence and caused him to be invested with the *sar-u-pâ* of the office of *vakîl*, just as he lf was invested, and the two then undertook the duties of their office and settled all rs of state. After Asad Khân and Şalâbat Khân had been inducted into the office of the king ordered that Shâh Haidar should move to the town of Daulatâbâd and reside until he received further orders. He was afterwards transferred from the town to the ss of Daulatâbâd and remained there for a time unemployed and in retirement. He hen recalled by the royal command to Ahmadnagar and was sent thence to the port jpûrî which was appointed to him as his *muqâsâ*.

ome days later the king returned from Daulatâbâd to Ahmadnagar, where he took is dwelling in the old garden of the watercourse and there remained for twelve years usion and retirement, in no way concerning himself directly with the affairs of state,

After the death of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, the *amīrs* and the chief officers of his army put the wretched slave to death as a punishment for the murder which he had committed, and as 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh had left no son, they unanimously raised Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II, the son of his brother, to the throne, he being then a youth, made their offerings to him, and tendered their congratulations.

LXXXVIII.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE QUARREL WHICH TOOK PLACE BETWEEN MURTAZĀ NIZĀM SHĀH, AND IBRĀHīm 'ĀDIL SHĀH, AND OF ITS CONSEQUENCES.

A. D. 1580. It has already been mentioned that Malik Barīd had applied to 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh for assistance against the army of Murtaẓā Nizām Shāh, and that 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh had sent some of his *amīrs* and officers with nearly 10,000 horse to his assistance. This act of hostility greatly annoyed Murtaẓā Nizām Shāh and he began to revolve schemes of revenge. Immediately afterwards news of the death of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh and of the great confusion among the *amīrs* of the kingdom of Bijāpūr reached the king.

The circumstances of this affair were as follows:—When 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh died, Kāmil Khān, one of the chief *amīrs* of Bijāpūr, raised to the throne, owing to his extreme youth. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, one of the sons of Tahmāsh Shāh, the brother of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, and blinded Ismā'il Shāh, Ibrāhīm's elder brother who had come to years of discretion, and then seized all power in the state, allowing nobody to share it with him.²³³

In a short time, however, the officers of the army found that they could not endure the domination of Kāmil Khān and allied themselves with Kishvar Khān in order to overthrow him.²³⁴ They succeeded in their design, and, having removed Kāmil Khān from the control of affairs, left the coast clear for Kishvar Khān who now assumed supreme power in the state. Kishvar Khān was apprehensive of Sayyid Muṣṭafā Khān, one of the greatest, wisest, and most politic and resourceful of the *amīrs* of Hindūstān, who was then engaged in a holy war against the infidels of Vijayanagar, and he therefore sent the Sayyid Mirzā, Nūr-ud-dīn Muhammad Nishābūrī, with some *amīrs*, havalḍars, and officers of the army with orders to seize and slay him. This infamous force slew Sayyid Muṣṭafā Khān, who was, in truth, the chief pillar of the Bijāpūr state.²³⁵

When Murtaẓā Nizām Shāh heard of the plight to which the kingdom of Bijāpūr was reduced, owing to the quarrels between the *amīrs*, he ordered the *vakils* of his kingdom to send an envoy to Golconda to confirm and renew his treaties with Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh and to make an offensive and defensive alliance between the two states in order that Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh might join him in attacking Bijāpūr.

Ṣalābat Khān and Asad Khān sent an envoy to Golconda to make the alliance and then jointly appointed Malik Bihzād-ul-Mulk, the Turk²³⁶, the *sar-i-naubat* of the right wing of

²³³ According to Firishta all the *amīrs* of Bijāpūr concurred in placing the young Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II on the throne. He does not mention that Ibrāhīm had an elder brother, Ismā'il, who was blinded, and his silence is probably due to the fact that Ibrāhīm was his patron. Ibrāhīm was only nine years of age at the time of his accession.—F. ii, 90.

²³⁴ Kāmil Khān's offence was that he treated Chānd Bibī Sultān, sister of Murtaẓā Nizām Shāh I, widow of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh I, and guardian of the young king with disrespect; and it was at her request, that Hājī Kishvar Khān removed and beheaded him.—F. ii, 93, 94.

²³⁵ Kishvar Khān had enraged the officers serving in the field against the army of Ahmadnagar by demanding from them all the elephants which they had captured. They conspired to depose him from the post of *vakil* and *pishvā* and to reinstate the Sayyid, Muṣṭafā Khān. Kishvar Khān forestalled their plans by causing Muṣṭafā Khān to be put to death. He was strangled by a man named Muhammad Amin.—F. ii, 96.

²³⁶ Firishta says that Malik Bihzād-ul-Mulk was a Circassian. He was thus a fellow-countryman of Ṣalābat Khān, and this will explain his advancement. The army of Berar under the veteran Sayyid Murtaẓā Sabzavārī was ordered to accompany the army sent from Ahmadnagar, and Sayyid Murtaẓā thus found himself, to his disgust, subordinate to Bihzād-ul-Mulk. Whether this humiliation of Sayyid Murtaẓā was the cause or an effect of the bitter enmity between him and Ṣalābat Khān cannot be determined, but it is improbable that Ṣalābat Khān would have put this slight on Sayyid Murtaẓā had already been on bad terms.—F. ii, 280.

the army, commander-in-chief of the army of invasion, associating with him a number of the most famous *amîrs*, such as 'Âdil Khân and most of the *silâhdârs*, Foreigners, Dakanis, and Africans.

Malik Bihzâd-ul-Mulk, after he had assembled and equipped the army, marched with it towards Sholâpûr, and when the army, which was very numerous, entered the kingdom of Bijâpûr, the lot of the inhabitants of that state was indeed hard. The troops plundered and laid waste the country for a considerable distance on each side of the line of march, destroying many towns and villages, while the garrisons of the posts on the road and the civil governors scattered and fled on the approach of the royal army, some of them fleeing as far as the capital, where they spread the news of the invasion.

When Kishvar Khân heard of the approach of the army of Ahmadnagar, he ordered the assembly of the army of Bijâpûr to the number of some 20,000 horse and sent some of the *amîrs*, such as Afzal Khân, Mughul Khân, and Miyân Budhû with 10,000 horse, to the assistance of the other army of Bijâpûr, ordering the officers first to effect a junction with the army which had been sent to the relief of Bidar, and, acting in conjunction with that army, to attempt to drive out the army of Ahmadnagar.²³⁷

This army of 10,000 horse marched from Bijâpûr and came up with the army which had been sent to the assistance of the ruler of Bidar on the banks of the Beora. Here the *amîrs* of Bijâpûr reviewed their united forces and found that they numbered nearly 30,000.

At this juncture spies brought the news that 8,000 Qutb Shâhî horse, which were marching by way of Sirol and Serâm to the aid of the Nizâm Shâhî army, had entered Bijâpûr territory. The *amîrs* of the 'Âdil Shâhî army considered the repulse of this force to be more urgent than any other operation, and decided to intercept and disperse this force before it could effect a junction with the Nizâm Shâhî army and then attack the latter. The Bijâpûr *amîrs* then marched to meet the Qutb Shâhî army, but before they could come up with them the news of their movement reached the latter, and the Qutb Shâhî troops, overcome with terror, fled before they were face to face with the enemy. They were pursued for three stages by the 'Âdil Shâhî troops and many of them were slain. The 'Âdil Shâhî troops, having pursued them as far as the village of Tândar, near Firûzâbâd, returned in triumph, their courage and confidence and their eagerness to meet the Nizâm Shâhî army being much increased by the successful issue of their expedition against the Qutb Shâhî army.

LXXXIX.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE DEFEAT WHICH, OWING TO THE NEGLIGENCE AND OVER-WEENING CONFIDENCE OF BIHZÂD-UL-MULK, BEFEL THE NIZÂM SHÂHÎ ARMY.

It has already been mentioned that the quarrel between Şalâbat Khân and Sayyid Murtaẓâ had reached an acute stage and that each was constantly employed in endeavouring to overthrow the other. It was at this time that Şalâbat Khân, owing to his quarrel with Sayyid Murtaẓâ, took from him the command-in-chief with which he had been so long associated that it was, as it were, a garment sewn upon his body, and bestowed it on Bihzâd-ul-Mulk, who was both young and inexperienced, placing most of the great *amîrs* under his orders, seeking only his own interests and disregarding those of his master. In obedience to the royal *farmâns*, the *amîrs* of necessity submitted openly to Bihzâd-ul-Mulk, but rendered unwilling service and were exceedingly slack in the performance of their duties in the field. At length Şalâbat Khân realized how disgraceful was the state of

²³⁷ According to *Firishta*, Muḥammad Âqû the Turkman was in command of the frontier fortress of Naldrug or Shâhdrug, and the force sent to his assistance was commanded by 'Ain-ul Mulk Kan' ni with whom were associated Jund Mir, Ankas Khân, and the African *amîrs* Ikilâs Khân and Lûlavar Khân. — F. i., 94, 101, 281.

affairs²³⁸ and repented of having appointed Bihzād-ul-Mulk to the command. He now, therefore, appointed Sayyid Murtaẓā, who was then in Ahmadnagar, to the command of the army in the field, and Sayyid Murtaẓā, in obedience to the royal command, set out with his own personal troops from Ahmadnagar towards the army in the field and at the same time sent a messenger to the *amīrs* of Berar, ordering them to assemble their forces and follow him.

When Sayyid Murtaẓā was within two stages of the army commanded by Bihzād-ul-Mulk, he was informed by spies that the 'Ādil Shāhī army was marching to attack Bihzād-ul-Mulk, who had neglected the most ordinary precautions of warfare.²³⁹ The new commander-in-chief therefore sent a message to Bihzād-ul-Mulk ordering him to march with the army and join him, lest the 'Ādil Shāhī army should attack him when he was unprepared. Bihzād-ul-Mulk retreated one stage but would retreat no further towards Sayyid Murtaẓā and halted and passed his time in sensual enjoyment and frivolity. His youthful pride prevented him from taking any precautions until a heavy defeat befell the royal army. This defeat was entirely due to Bihzād-ul-Mulk's having been appointed commander-in-chief, or although it could not be denied that of bravery, generosity, personal beauty and good nature Bihzād-ul-Mulk had a large share, he was utterly inexperienced in war, and the *amīrs*, knowing that Sayyid Murtaẓā was available for the command, paid a very unwilling obedience to such a youth.

Bihzād-ul-Mulk was now encamped at the village of Dhārāseo, between Naldrug and Sholāpūr, engaged in nothing but enjoyment and self indulgence when, at about the breakfast hour, his camp was suddenly rushed by the army of Bijāpūr with such suddenness that the troops had not time to arm themselves, and could make no attempt at resistance.²⁴⁰ The greater part of the royal army fled, and although Malik Bihzād-ul-Mulk, with a small force, most gallantly charged the enemy's centre yet, as most of the army had fled, this effort was of little avail, and Bihzād-ul-Mulk, shedding tears of regret, was at length forced to flee from the field. All the baggage, property, horses, elephants,²⁴¹ tents, and camp equipage of Bihzād-ul-Mulk and his army, fell into the hands of the 'Ādil Shāhī troops, and thus a strong and well appointed army was scattered in a moment, like a girl's locks by the morning breeze, and wandered over plains and deserts.

The 'Ādil Shāhī army thus attained both its objects, and gained large quantities of

raged without advantage to either side from daybreak until noon, when a body of NiẒām Shāhī horse made a dashing attack on the enemy's front. This was followed by an attack by a thousand picked horsemen on the enemy's centre. A number of war elephants preceded the cavalry attack, and the whole attacking force advanced with the impetuosity of a mountain torrent. This attack broke the enemy's centre, and his right and left wings, seeing that the centre had been broken, also broke, and the attack thus swept the enemy from the field.²⁴³

The army of Ahmadnagar at once pursued the enemy with such vigour as not even to give them time to look back, and drove them to take refuge in the fort of Naldrug, where they had some respite from the pitiless sword. So headlong was the flight of the enemy towards the fortress that many threw themselves into the ditch which encloses two of its sides, and were drowned. Those who escaped into the fortress at once opened from its walls a heavy fire of artillery and musketry on the attacking force which caused it to retire from under the walls. After this daily combats were fought between the NiẒām Shāhī and the 'Ādil Shāhī troops, victory usually declaring for the former, when the latter would flee again into the fortress.

When at length the *amīrs* saw that there could be no end to warfare of this nature and that little was to be gained by tarrying before Naldrug, they assembled before the *amīr-ul-umará*, and in the council of war all agreed that as the army in Naldrug was the greater part of the whole army of Bijāpūr, and that hardly any troops remained in Bijāpūr, the wisest course to pursue was that half of the army should make a forced march to Bijāpūr, marching at night in order that the enemy might not be aware of the movement, and besiege that place before any more troops could enter it, leaving half the army to shut up the 'Ādil Shāhī army in Naldrug. This plan was agreed upon, and half of the besieging army set out for Bijāpūr in the depth of a winter's night.²⁴⁴

It so happened, however, that the 'Ādil Shāhī army had been informed by spies of the design, and on the night on which half of the besieging army marched the 'Ādil Shāhī army also marched for Bijāpūr by another road, and before the army of Ahmadnagar could reach that place, had entered Bijāpūr and taken refuge behind its walls. Just at this time²⁴⁵ the force which had been sent by Kishvar Khān to slay Muṣṭafā Khān, having slain that great man, returned, and joined the rest of the 'Ādil Shāhī army in Bijāpūr, so that the strength of the army of Bijāpūr was greatly increased. The *amīrs* of Bijāpūr had, however recently

²⁴³ Firishta does not mention this defeat of the *amīrs* of Bijāpūr and it is very improbable that the army of Ahmadnagar gained any important success at Naldrug, or they would not have been so easily discouraged. As a matter of fact they suffered very heavy losses before the fortress.

²⁴⁴ The fact was that the *amīrs* of Ahmadnagar despaired of effecting anything against Naldrug. On the death of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh of Golconda on June 6, 1580, the contingent sent by him to aid the army of Ahmadnagar dispersed. Šalābat Khān had succeeded in persuading Shāh Mīrzā Iṣṭahānī now *vakil* and *pishvā* of Golconda, to furnish another contingent and to bring with it the young king of Golconda, Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shāh, Ibrāhīm's successor, but Muḥammad Qulī grew weary of the apparently interminable siege, and Sayyid Murtaẓā and Bihzād-ul-Mulk, seeing that Muḥammad Aqā the Turkman, commandant of Naldrug, was incorruptible, and fearing lest Muḥammad Qulī should desert them, proposed the advance to Bijāpūr, to which Muḥammad Qulī readily agreed. The enterprise was rash, but the troubles at Bijāpūr encouraged the allies to hope that a *coup de main* might succeed. They could muster 40,000 horse, and there were only two or three thousand horse in Bijāpūr when they arrived before it.—F. ii. 101, 337.

²⁴⁵ From Firishta's narrative it would appear that the force sent to deal with Muṣṭafā Khān had returned to Bijāpūr some time before the arrival of the allies before the city.—F. ii, 96.

expelled Kishvar Khān from the country²⁴⁶ and had not yet raised any other to the head of affairs. The African *amīrs*, such as Ikhlas Khān, Dilāvar Khān, and Hamid Khān, had conspired together and had succeeded in getting into their own hands most of the power in the state and the former concord between them and 'Ain-ul-Mulk, who was the greatest and most powerful of the *amīrs* of Bijāpūr, was changed to enmity. One day, when all the African *amīrs* had gone to 'Ain-ul-Mulk's house, he had them arrested and on the following day, having drawn up his troops and placed the Africans under arrest with them, he marched to the citadel of Bijāpūr, intending to gain possession of the person of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, to assume the chief power in the state, and to imprison the Africans in the fortress. On his way one of his friends met him and told him that the slaves of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh had entered into a conspiracy with the *Kotwāl* of Bijāpūr and the troops in attendance on the young king to release the Africans as soon as the cavalcade entered the fortress and to arrest their captor. The suspicious 'Ain-ul-Mulk, on receiving this false information, left the African *amīrs* in the midst of the bāzār at Bijāpūr and fled to his own estates.

The 'Ādil Shāhī army was much demoralized by the flight of 'Ain-ul-Mulk, but the power of the African *amīrs*, who had thus been released from imprisonment, was greater than ever. As the army of Bijāpūr was demoralized by the quarrels between the *amīrs*, so the NiẒām Shāhī army became more powerful and advanced and encamped before Shāhpūr. On the following day at daybreak the NiẒām Shāhī and Qutb Shāhī armies were drawn up in battle array against the enemy, and marched on Bijāpūr. The 'Ādil Shāhī army also streamed out of the gates of the town and was drawn up for battle. The infantry, the rocketeers, the spearmen and the halberdiers, the war elephants, and the cavalry advanced to the attack. The light cavalry first joined battle but the fight soon became general, and the two armies crashed together like contending seas.²⁴⁷

The Qutb Shāhī warriors performed great feats of valour on that day, made frequent attacks which broke the enemy's line, and then, as before, when the battle was at its height, nearly a thousand picked horsemen of the NiẒām Shāhī army charged the centre of the 'Ādil Shāhī army, doing great execution. The centre broke and the wings followed its example.

²⁴⁶ This is a very imperfect account of Hūji Kishvar Khān's downfall. Chānd Bibi became estranged from him owing to his murder of the Sayyid, Muṣṭafā Khān, and the quarrel between them reached such lengths that Kishvar Khān caused Chānd Bibi to be arrested and sent as a prisoner to Satāra. He then sent Miyān Buddhū the Dakani to threaten the *amīrs* at Naldurg with imprisonment unless they opposed the enemy more vigorously. The African *amīrs*, Ikhlas Khān, Dilāvar Khān, and Hamid Khān, put the envoy in irons and marched on Bijāpūr with the object of deposing Kishvar Khān, while 'Ain-ul-Mulk Kan'āni, Ankas Khān, and other *amīrs* retired to their estates. The murder of Muṣṭafā Khān and the imprisonment of Chānd Bibi had rendered Kishvar Khān extremely unpopular in Bijāpūr, and he was openly abused as he passed through the streets. When he heard that the African *amīrs* were marching on the capital he took the young king out hunting but, realizing the futility of opposing the Africans, allowed him to return from the first stage and obtained leave of absence. He fled with 400 horse to Ahmadnagar but, being ill received there, fled to Golconda, where he was slain by an Ardistāni in revenge for the murder of Muṣṭafā Khān. Ikhlas Khān was then made *vakīl* and *pīshvā*, and Chānd Bibi was recalled from Satāra. She dismissed Ikhlas Khān, and appointed Afzal Khān Shīrāzi in his stead. Ikhlas Khān caused Afzal Khān to be put to death, and, resenting Chānd Bibi's partiality for the foreign *amīrs*, expelled Shāh Fathullāh Shīrāzi, Shāh Abdūl Qāsim, Murtazā Khān Injū, and other foreigners from the city. The African *amīrs* then summoned 'Ain-ul-Mulk Kan'āni from his estate and, as he approached the city, went out to meet him. He seized them, put them in irons, and carried them towards the city on elephants, but on learning that the royal guards were prepared to oppose him fled to his estate, leaving his prisoners behind. They were released and restored to power.—F ii, 97, 98.

²⁴⁷ These battles before Bijāpūr are not mentioned by Firishta and the army of Ahmadnagar appears to have gained no success of any importance there.

When the allied armies saw the effect of this bold charge on the enemy, they charged at once and slew so many of the enemy, that the corpses lay in heaps. They then pressed on in pursuit of the disorganized forces of the enemy, which fled in all directions. Some, with great difficulty, succeeded in reaching the fortress of Bijâpûr, while large numbers fled in all directions over the country. Those who made for Bijâpûr were pursued to the gates by the allies, who captured from them seven of Ibrâhîm's best elephants, Âtashpâra, Kâh-pâra, Chanchâl and others, and drove them back to their camp. The allies having reached their camp, relaxed no whit of their vigilance, but prepared to resist any fresh attack and to capture the fortress.

On the day following, the 'Âdil Shâhî army was again formed up for battle but their spirit was so broken by their defeat that they would not leave the fortress.

At this juncture spies informed the 'Âdil Shâhî army that Sayyid Mir Zainal Astarâbâdî, who had been sent by Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh to besiege the fortress of Gulgûr,²⁴⁸ had taken that fortress and was hastening to the aid of the NiẒâm Shâhî army. The commanders of the 'Âdil Shâhî forces decided that the wisest course would be to detach the force against this reinforcement, to attack it by night before it effected a junction with Sayyid Murtaẓâ's army and to disperse it. They therefore sent Sayyid Mirzâ Nûr-ud-dîn Muḥammad Nishâbûrî and some other *amîrs* with their troops to attack Mir Zainal. Mirzâ Nûr-ud-dîn Muḥammad with a fresh 'Âdil Shâhî force marched from Bijâpûr at night and on the second night he met the Qutb Shâhî force and in the darkness of that night a fierce conflict between these two armies took place. The fight lasted until the morning, but when the sun rose the 'Âdil Shâhî's left the field and retired towards Bijâpûr, while the Qutb Shâhî army encamped on the field.

When the Qutb Shâhî army found that the Bijâpûrîs had fled and would not renew the fight they resumed their march, plundering and ravaging the 'Âdil Shâhî country as they advanced to a distance of four or five leagues on either side of their line of their march, until they approached the *amîr-ul-umará's* army. Here they were received with honour, and as this reinforcement greatly increased the strength of the besieging army, renewed efforts were made to capture Bijâpûr.

At this time Kishvar Khân 'Âdilshâhî,²⁴⁹ of whom it has already been mentioned that he fled from the *amîrs* of Bijâpûr and took refuge in Ahmadnagar arrived, by the royal command, with fresh troops at the camp of the *amîr-ul-umará*, and the news of the arrival of these two fresh reinforcements utterly demoralized the army of Bijâpûr, and 'Ain-ul-Mulk, who was the commander-in-chief of the enemy, found that the strength of the allies was overwhelming, and that in the absence of any sound statesman the kingdom was rapidly falling into decay. Thus Sankal Náik, commandant of the fortress of Charî and of its dependencies rose in rebellion, and asserted his sway over most of the villages and towns (with their districts) which 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh had, in the course of his reign, added to the 'Âdil Shâhî kingdom, and was oppressing and plundering the inhabitants. The African *amîrs*, who had acquired all power in the city of Bijâpûr, now exerted themselves to the utmost to avert the overthrow of the kingdom and, as a first step to this end they sent for 'Ain-ul-Mulk, who had

²⁴⁸ Gollagûda.

²⁴⁹ Firishṭa makes no mention of the dispatch of Kishvar Khân from Ahmadnagar to Bijâpûr. He appears to have fled directly from Ahmadnagar to Golconda.

now been for eight days in the camp of the allies, assuring him of his safety and imploring him to return to Bijâpûr. He responded to the appeal and, leaving his pavilion standing, fled from the royal camp with his troops by night towards Bijâpûr, and entered the city by the Allâhpûr gate.²⁵⁰

When the allies heard of the flight of 'Ain-ul-Mulk they pursued him even to the gate of the city, slaying all whom they overtook and capturing all his baggage and treasure, so that the pursuers were enriched by the quantity of gold and jewels which fell into their hands.

The 'Âdil Shâhî army was, however, much strengthened by the return of 'Ain-ul-Mulk, and *farmâns* were issued to all parts of the kingdom ordering the assembly of the infantry, musketeers and archers, and in a short time 8,000 foot (joined the army in Bijâpûr).

XC.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE THIRD BATTLE BETWEEN THE BIJÂPÛRÎS
AND THE ALLIES.²⁵¹

The allies, having recently been strengthened by two reinforcements, were now overconfident on their strength, and on the next day at sunrise, were drawn up and advanced against the city in full force. When the 'Âdil Shâhî army were aware of the advance of the allies, they were drawn up, and a number of their bravest *amîrs*, such as Mirzâ Nûr-ud-dîn Muḥammad Nishâbûrî, Muṣṭafâ Khân Astarâbâdî, Shîr Khân Barâqî, Muẓaffar Khân Barâqî, Ankas Khan Dakani and Ikhlâs Khân, Dilâvar Khân, and Ḥamîd Khân, the Africans, led the numerous army of Bijâpûr out by one of the gates of the city and drew it up over against the armies of the allies.

The two armies then joined battle and a fiercely fought battle ensued, which raged from early morn until the sun was past the zenith, when a division of about 1,500 cavalry with several war-elephants charged the centre of the 'Âdil Shâhî army, broke it, and dispersed it. When the rest of the 'Âdil Shâhî army saw that all their efforts were in vain they broke and fled, pursued by the Nizâm Shâhî army. Many of the fugitives fled so precipitately from fear of the avenging swords of the pursuers that they fell into the ditch of the fortress.

When those in Bijâpûr saw that the battle was not going in accordance with their hopes, they shut the gates and prevented the entry, not only of the victors, but also of their own men, and rained from the bastions and curtains showers of arrows on the allies. The allies having thus gained the victory over their enemy, retired from before the walls to their own camp.

After this heavy defeat, the army of Bijâpûr remained shut up in the city and had neither strength nor courage to arm themselves, nor to come out again to the fight. Then, having found that they could effect nothing by force, they had recourse to fraud. Having regard to the friendship which had existed between Sayyid Murtaẓâ and Sayyid Shâh Abûl-Ḥasan, son of Shâh Tâhir, who was imprisoned in a fortress in the Bijâpûr kingdom, they sent for the latter and appointed him *vakîl* and *pîshvâ* of the kingdom,²⁵² knowing that the

²⁵⁰ The African *amîrs* had by this time resigned office, and Shâh Abûl Ḥasan had been appointed *vakîl* and *pîshvâ*. He begged Sayyid Murtaẓâ, who held him in great respect, to persuade Bihzâd-ul-Mulk and Muḥammad Qulî Quṭb Shâh to raise the siege and Sayyid Murtaẓâ, who was still at enmity with Bihzâd-ul-Mulk and Ṣalâbat Khân, very readily exerted himself to ensure the failure of the siege. He reproached 'Ain-ul-Mulk and Ankas Khân, who had taken refuge with him, with their treason, and persuaded them to return to their allegiance to Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh II. They accordingly returned to Bijâpûr. Firîshṭa says nothing about the attack made on them as they were returning, which Sayyid Murtaẓâ would not have been likely to permit.—F. ii, 102, 103.

²⁵¹ This battle is not mentioned by Firîshṭa.

²⁵² Abûl Ḥasan had already been appointed *vakîl* and *pîshvâ* before the return of 'Ain-ul-Mulk and Ankas Khân from Sayyid Murtaẓâ's camp to Bijâpûr.—F. ii, 102.

amīr-ul-umarā had always made the release of Abū-l-Ḥasan and his elevation to the office of *vakīl* and *pīshvā* his object in life, and that this appointment would open the door to friendly communications. When these communications were firmly established the Bijāpūrīs, who were craftily seeking to sow discord between the allies, sent a message to Sayyid Murtaẓā saying that friendship would be restored if the army of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh,²⁵³ who was the prime mover of discord and whose troops were the cause of it, were removed. Sayyid Murtaẓā, who did not at once fathom the enemy's guile, accepted this advice and began to scheme to get rid of the Quṭb Shāhī troops. A common friend, who by chance became aware of the design of the enemy, disclosed it to Sayyid Shāh Mīr, who was the commander-in-chief of the Quṭb Shāhī troops, and who, on being acquainted with the guile of the Bijāpūrīs, wrote a letter to them, warning of them of the danger of liberating Shāh Abū-l-Ḥasan and of making friends with Sayyid Murtaẓā. Sayyid Shāh Mīr then hastened to Sayyid Murtaẓā's quarters and, finding him alone, questioned him closely and with great persistence regarding the communications which he had received from the sowers of discord, *scil.* the *amīrs* of Bijāpūr. Sayyid Murtaẓā was thus compelled to disclose all the circumstances, and Sayyid Shāh Mīr, who was well known for his persuasive eloquence, tactfully exposed the guile of the enemy to Sayyid Murtaẓā and proved to him that he would have cause to regret any alliance with the Bijāpūrīs. Sayyid Murtaẓā was now ashamed of his traffickings with the Bijāpūrīs and once more devoted himself to consolidating the alliance with Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh and with Sayyid Shāh Mīr.

The Bijāpūrīs, on their side, repented of having released Shāh Abū-l-Ḥasan and, having again imprisoned him,²⁵⁴ once more prepared for war. They employed a force of Bargīs²⁵⁵ who, for their valour and endurance, are known as the Uzbaks of Hindūstān, to prevent supplies from reaching the besiegers, and thus caused a famine in the camp of the allies. The allies, reduced to great straits owing to the scarcity of food, took counsel as to the course to be followed and, it was agreed that they should not confine themselves to the siege of Bijāpūr, but should disperse and ravage the country.²⁵⁶

XCI.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE MARCH OF THE ALLIES FROM BEFORE BIJĀPŪR
WITH THE OBJECT OF PLUNDERING THE CROPS OF THE ĀDIL SHĀHĪ
KINGDOM AND DESTROYING ITS BUILDINGS.

All the *amīrs* and the officers of the army agreed that the neighbourhood of Bijāpūr should be abandoned, and they began operations by plundering and laying waste the suburb of Shāhpūr which contained palaces and gardens full of fruit and flowers. Having levelled its palaces with the ground and uprooted all its fruit trees, the army marched, in

²⁵³ This is a mistake. Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh had died during the first siege of Naldrug and Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shāh was with the army of Ahmadnagar before Bijāpūr.

²⁵⁴ This is a mistake. Shāh Abū-l-Ḥasan remained in power throughout the siege of Bijāpūr.

²⁵⁵ Marāṭhās.

²⁵⁶ This is a very partial account of what happened. The allies, completely demoralized by their failure before Bijāpūr, and harassed by the Marāṭhās, sued for peace, which Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh refused to grant. They then agreed that Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shāh should march on Gulbarga, which was on the way to his own capital and attempt to reduce it, and that the army of Ahmadnagar should renew the siege of Naldrug. They left Bijāpūr depressed and humiliated by their failure, and Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shāh returned to Golconda, leaving a force under Sayyid Zainal Astarābādī, whom he entitled Muṣṭafā Khān, to besiege Gulbarga. The army of Ahmadnagar according to Firishta did not venture within striking distance of Naldrug, but retired to Ahmadnagar by way of Kolhar and Mīraj, plundering as it went. A force under Dilāvar Khān utterly defeated Sayyid Zainul at Gulbarga and captured from him 150 elephants.—F. ii, 103, 104.

the latter days of Muḥarram A.H. 988 (March A.D. 1580),²⁵⁷ from Bijāpūr through the 'Ādil Shāhī kingdom, which was populous and well cultivated. As they went they plundered and ravaged, levelling huts of the poor and the palaces of rich with the ground, and destroying the crops, until they reached the city of Kalhar, which is one of the most famous cities of the Dakan for its populousness and its fine architecture. This city they plundered and burnt, obtaining such spoil that the whole army, both small and great, was made wealthy by the plunder of this city alone. When they had done with Kalhar, of which they left no stone standing on another, they marched towards Rāi Bāgh Dihgirī, a populous city noted for its fruits, and especially for its grapes. This place they so devastated that of the city no trace remained, and no remnant of its vines, which were all destroyed. Thence the army marched through the country plundering all, both rich and poor, and slaying all.

On this march the army plundered and destroyed all the cities, villages and forts, such as Miskirī, which lay on their way, and ravaged and wasted all the towns and districts, until they came to the fortress of Mīraj. The garrison of Mīraj was thrown into great confusion by the news of the approach of the allies, but as the fortress was exceedingly strong, a few of the bravest of the garrison, relying on its strength, came forth, and there was a fight between them and the advanced guard of the NiẒām Shāhī army. Owing, however, to the great strength of the fort, the allies did not tarry to besiege it, but marched on to besiege Naldrug.

XCII.—THE DEATH OF IBRĀHĪM QUTB SHĀH AND THE ACCESSION OF MUḤAMMAD QULĪ QUTB SHĀH.

Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh, who had reigned over the whole of Telingāna for thirty years, died in this year, viz. :—A.H. 989 (A.D. 1581),²⁵⁸ and Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh, the most able, generous and valiant of his sons, was summoned to his father's death-bed to receive his dying advice and to be designated heir to the kingdom. After this the *amīrs* and the chiefs of the army were summoned and were enjoined to be loyal to the new king, and Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh then expired.

Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh was a king plentifully endowed with praiseworthy qualities, of boundless generosity, and great administrative ability. For these qualities he was famed as far as Arabia and Persia, and in his reign oppression and tyranny were unknown.

Although the people of Telingāna are famed for their expertness as thieves, and can, as the proverb says, steal the nose from between the eyes, justice was so executed in his reign that the name of thief was not heard, and no one lost anything by fraud. The king was kept so well aware of all the affairs, doings and conversation of his subjects, whether in town or in the country, that the very smallest matters were reported to him every day. He was, however, very harsh and severe in the administration of justice and the smallest offences were heavily punished. The lightest punishments which he inflicted were the drawing of the finger nails and the toe nails and the cutting off of ears, noses and other members.

A witty fellow once travelled through his country, and, as usual, his arrival was reported to the king and a man was sent to ask him whence he came and what goods he had. He replied that he had brought with him finger nails, toe nails, ears, nose and all other members and parts of the body which were usually taken from the subjects of that kingdom with stick and mallet, but before this reply could be carried to Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh the wit had absconded and when sought for could not be found.

²⁵⁷ This date is wrong. The siege of Bijāpūr was not raised until A.D. 1581.

²⁵⁸ This date is wrong. Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh died on June 6, 1580, as is clear from the epitaph on his tomb.

When the *amîrs* and officers of state had finished the obsequies of Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh they waited on the new king, enthroned him in an auspicious hour and arranged a great feast such as is usual on the accession of a king. They appeared before Muḥammad Qulî Qutb Shâh to congratulate him and scattered offerings. The festivities lasted for some days and then a *farmân* was issued, informing Sayyid Shâh Mîr of the death of Ibrâhîm and the accession of Muḥammad Qulî. The news reached the army at Nandgâon, near Naldrug, and was the means of increasing Shâh Mîr's uneasiness, for he already feared lest the Nizâm Shâhî commanders should listen again to the wiles of the enemy and break their treaty with him. He therefore refrained from publishing the news and hastened to Sayyid Murtaẓâ's tent.²⁵⁹ It had recently been decided by the *amîrs* of the allied armies that Sayyid Shâh Mîr should leave the army and return to Golconda and there use his utmost endeavours to persuade his king to join his army in the field. Shâh Mîr now told Sayyid Murtaẓâ that he was prepared to start for Goleonda with this object, but that he was not at ease in his mind regarding the guile of the enemy, for he feared lest they, to gain their own ends, should again endeavour to foment strife and make mischief between the allies, the effect of which would be that the Sulṭân of Goleonda would be annoyed and that he himself would be disgraced and ruined. He therefore asked Sayyid Murtaẓâ to set his mind at rest by renewing the agreements and covenants between them, in order that he might go without anxiety to Goleonda and endeavour to persuade the Sulṭân to take the field.

At that time the greatest friendship existed between Shâh Mîr and Sayyid Murtaẓâ, and Sayyid Murtaẓâ therefore, in order to set Shâh Mîr's mind at rest, formally renewed the agreements and covenants between them, calling up the principal *amîrs*, such as Jamshîd Khân, Khudâvand Khân, Bahrî Khân, Bihzâd-ul-Mulk, and others, in order that they might associate themselves with him in an undertaking to listen to nothing from the enemy that might tend to prejudice them against their Qutb Shâhî allies, always to deal with these allies in a spirit of friendliness and courtesy, and in no manner to inflict any damage on them.

When Sayyid Shâh Mîr's mind had been set at rest by this agreement he unfolded the news which he had to tell, of the death of Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh and the accession of his son, Muḥammad Qulî Qutb Shâh. The *amîrs* all with one accord avowed their intention to abide by their former covenant and that into which they had just entered. It was then decided that Mirak Mu'in Sabzavâri, one of the most ready witted men of the age, should be sent to Goleonda on the part of Sayyid Murtaẓâ and that Khvâja Muḥammad Samnânî should accompany him in behalf of Shâh Mîr for the purpose of offering condolences, on the death of the late, and congratulations on the accession of the new king, and that Sayyid Shâh Mîr should, in a short time, himself return to Goleonda and use his best endeavours to induce Muḥammad Qulî Qutb Shâh to join the army in the field. Mirak Mu'in and Khvâja Muḥammad then went to Goleonda and, having been received by Muḥammad Qulî Qutb Shâh, discharged the mission on which they had been sent, and then Sayyid Shâh Mîr returned to Golconda. Muḥammad Qulî Qutb Shâh came forth from the city with all his troops and elephants to receive the Sayyid, and the Sulṭân, in consideration both of his Sayyidship and of his former services, honoured him by alighting from his horse and embracing him. After they had entered the city the king invested Shâh Mîr with a special robe of honour and entrusted him with all the whole administration of the kingdom.

²⁵⁹ These events happened before, not after, the siege of Bijâpûr.

Sayyid Shâh Mir then convinced the king that it was necessary in the interests of the kingdom, that he should take the field with his army and join the Nizâm Shâhî army, and Muhammad Quli Qutb Shâh, acting on this advice marched from Goleonda at the head of his army to join the Nizâm Shâhî army.

When the army of Goleonda approached the camp of the army of Ahmadnagar the *amir-ul-umará* and all the *vizirs* and *amirs* came forth to meet the king, and were honoured by being permitted to pay their respects to him.

The next day the two armies marched towards Naldrug.

XCHL.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE FRESH SIEGE OF NALDRUG AND OF THE MATTERS WHICH CAME TO LIGHT IN THE COURSE THEREOF.²⁶⁰

The fortress of Naldrug is famed as one of the strongest fortresses in Hind or Sind. It is built on the slopes of a lofty mountain, rising from a well watered valley, and is reputed to be impregnable. The fortress is encircled on three sides by the valley, which is wide and deep, and on the fourth side on which it is approached, by a ditch 40 *zar'* wide, and 40 *zar'* long, cut out of the hard and solid rock. The slope between the wall and the edge of the ditch measures about 100 *zar'* but has been so steeply scarped that a bird or an ant, much less a man, could hardly scale it.

Towards the end of the month of Ramzân A.H. 989 (October A.D. 1581) the allies encamped before the fortress. On the following day the *amir-ul-umará* ²⁶¹ in person reconnoitred the fortress and inspected it with a view to ascertaining on which side it could be best attacked. He ordered the batteries to be thrown up on that side of the fort which was not surrounded by water. The armies then encamped over against that face of the fort, and straitly blockaded it. In the meantime the heavy Nizâm Shâhî guns, such as the *Nuh-garî Tûp*, the *Lailâ va Majnûn Tûp*, the *Havâî Tûp* and others, which had been sent to the army in the field by Asad Khân, arrived and were set up in the position selected by Sayyid Murtaẓâ. The Qutb Shâhî guns, such as the *Tûp-i-Haidarî* and others also arrived and were set up in the same place, and the gunners, having ascertained the range, opened fire on the fortress and maintained it daily doing much execution on the walls.

Vazir-ul-Mulk, ²⁶² who was the commandant of the fortress, had great confidence in its strength, in his treasures, and in the garrison, and therefore prepared to stand a siege and to attack and harass the besiegers whenever possible, being assiduous, day and night, in the pursuit of military glory. The ground around the fortress was apportioned to the several *amirs* and the trenches were pushed forward; mines were sunk and the sap was carried to the edge of the ditch, and the infantry, elephants, camels, and bullocks of the army were employed in transporting stones, wood and rubbish to the ditch, in order to fill it, while the gunners brought the guns up to the counterscarp and from that point opened fire against the fortress.

The armies lay in the trenches for nearly two months, during the whole of which time there was constant fighting and the troops had hardly a moment's rest. Sometimes the defenders would make a sortie and attack the troops in the trenches, slaying many, and fierce conflicts took place. Whenever the wall was breached the defenders would make another wall, stronger than the first, behind the breach.

²⁶⁰ Firishta does not mention the third siege of Naldrug formed after the retirement of the armies of Ahmadnagar and Goleonda from before Bijâpûr in A.D. 1581. Sayyid 'Alî says that he was himself present at it, but, as he does not explain how Muhammad Quli Qutb Shâh, who had retired to Golconda, came to be with the besieging force, he seems to be serving up a *rechauffé's* of the second siege.

²⁶¹ Sayyid Murtaẓa Sabzavâri.

²⁶² Muhammad Âqâ the Turkman had probably received this title.

At this time it occurred to the *amîr-ul-umârâ* that it would be well to write a letter to Vazîr-ul-Mulk, the *kotwâl* of the fortress, setting before him the advantages of submitting and entering the service of Ahmadnagar, and the ill results of persisting in his resistance, so that haply he might be induced to make peace and to avoid further strife, which could only lead to bloodshed and to the destruction of the honour of the servants of God. He therefore wrote to him a letter to this effect, adding that the powerful king Muhammad Qulî Qutb Shâh, aided by the army of Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh, was resolved on taking the fortress and would not abandon the task.

When Vazîr-ul-Mulk had read this letter he sent an answer to the *amîr-ul-umârâ* saying that he had read the letter from beginning to end and was surprised that the *amîr-ul-umârâ* should advise him to commit an act so base. Forts were as the houses of kings, and when a king entrusted his house to a servant that servant would indeed be vile who should surrender it to an enemy at his summons. He pointed out that so far as any blame for the outbreak of war went the *amîr-ul-umârâ* was the aggressor, and that he should remember, in the midst of his threats, that strife had long arms and that a stick had two ends, and that it was possible that fate might play him a trick, while even if the fort were taken its defender would still be praiseworthy in so far as he had made every effort on behalf of his master and benefactor, and for not having been dismayed even by a king so great and an army so powerful as those which had against him.

When the *amîr-ul-umârâ* and the rest of the *amîrs* had read Vazîr-ul-Mulk's reproachful letter they gave up all idea of a peaceful termination to the siege and determined to reduce the place by force. The artillery maintained a steady fire against the place, rolling large masses of the wall down on to the berm and into the ditch, while the whole army was employed day and night in filling up the ditch and thus making an approach to the fortress. In a short time a breach 40 *zar'* in length had been made in the wall, and the ditch opposite to the breach had been filled in.

At this time a force of nearly 1,500 horse and 1,000 foot which had come from Bijâpûr to reinforce the garrison boldly attacked one flank of the besieging army in the last third of the night and large numbers of them were killed and 300 were made prisoners. Others of them fought so bravely that they succeeded in making their way into the fortress the defenders of which were so much cheered and strengthened by their arrival that they presented a bolder front than ever to the besiegers.

XCIV.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE FOUGHT BY MUHAMMAD QULÎ QUTB SHÂH AGAINST THE GARRISON, AND OF THE KING'S LACK OF SUCCESS.

On the following day, before sunrise, the allied armies armed themselves and prepared for battle waiting for the dawn to attack. Muhammad Qulî Qutb Shâh in person led his army while the army of Ahmadnagar with its elephants was led by the *amîr-ul-umârâ* and both armies advanced as far as the countersearp with trumpets sounding and drums beating. The commandant and the garrison of the fortress, on hearing the preparations for the attack and seeing the allied armies drawn up, lined the walls and then, advancing, repulsed the allies from the edge of the ditch. The allies replied with flights of arrows, volleys of musketry, and a hot artillery fire, which drove the enemy back, and so the fight continued, with much slaughter on both sides.

The writer had then but recently come from 'Irâq and was in the Qutb Shâhî service, being on that day in attendance on Muhammad Qulî Qutb Shâh on some rising ground close to the fight, and witnessed this dreadful battle with his own eyes. The garrison of Naldrug

displayed the greatest bravery but as the sloping berm from the edge of the ditch to the foot of the wall was nearly 100 yards wide and high and was very steep, and the artillery fire had brought the greater part of the wall down on it, its ascent was very difficult, and although the attacking force climbed with great determination to the foot of the wall using their fingers and even their nails, the defenders threw hand grenades among them, which hurled them back into the ditch and when they would have fled from the ditch they had the greatest difficulty in climbing the counterscarp and when one slipped he would clutch at the others and thus bring them headlong back into the ditch with him. In this way many were killed, many were scorched and burnt by the hand grenades and many were slain by musketry fire and arrows so that a hundred picked-foreigners were slain, and of the Dakanis and others the same proportion. The battle lasted from before sunrise until the afternoon and was still in progress when some spies brought news that a force of Hindûs had halted in the neighbourhood of the besiegers' camp and had prepared for battle with the object of plundering the camp. Muḥammad Qulî Quṭb Shâh therefore drew off his army, without having gained any advantage and returned to camp, and the *amîr-ul-umârâ* followed his example. After this a council of war was held, at which it was agreed by all the *amîrs* that it would be best for the army to march to Bijâpûr and besiege that city. The armies therefore marched from before Naldrug and encamped on the Beora where they remained for nearly twenty days. Here Muḥammad Qulî Quṭb Shâh grew weary of campaigning and, prompted by some of the older officers of the army sent to the *amîr-ul-umârâ* to say that he was tired of the field. The *amîr-ul-umârâ*, with the example of Muḥammad Qulî Quṭb Shâh before him, was also weary of the long campaign and the two agreed to return. Of the Nizâm Shâhî army Sayyid Mirzâ Yâdgâr, Shîr Khân, and other *amîrs* and of the Quṭb Shâhî army Sayyid Mir Zainal and other officers, with the troops under their command, were left to guard the frontier of the territory which had been taken from Bijâpûr, and in the middle of Muharram, A.H. 991 (Feb. A.D. 1583) the two armies separated, each marching towards its own country.

When Muḥammad Qulî Quṭb Shâh arrived in Golconda he took his ease and married the daughter of Sayyid Shâh Mîr, who had been betrothed to his elder brother, giving a great feast and shewing boundless hospitality to all comers.

The *amîr-ul-umârâ*, owing to the quarrel which he had with Şalâbat Khân, would not return to court, but marched straight to Berar.

The *amîrs* of the 'Âdil Shâhî army, on hearing of the departure of Muḥammad Qulî Quṭb Shâh and of the Nizâm Shâhî *amîrs*, collected their forces for the purpose of reconquering those districts which had been annexed by Muḥammad Qulî Quṭb Shâh. Mir Zainal then sent a messenger to Golconda to represent to the king how great was the force which was advancing against him and how small was his own force. Muḥammad Qulî Quṭb Shâh sent to support Mir Zainal a picked force which marched to join him with all speed.

Meanwhile some of Mir Shâh Mîr's enemies at Golconda, taking advantage of this opportunity to injure him, produced a forged letter, purporting to have been written by him to the 'Âdil Shâhî *amîrs*, instigating them to fight with determination and promising them the support of the Foreigners of Golconda, and showed it to the king. This device did not fail of success and Muḥammad Qulî Quṭb Shâh, on seeing the letter, was at once estranged from Mir Shâh Mîr, the principal pillar of his kingdom, and ordered his immediate arrest without any enquiry into the rights and wrongs of the matter. This action led to the greatest confusion in his kingdom and especially in the army, which was so disorganized by it that most of the elephants and cavalry horses of the army in the field were captured by the 'Âdil Shâhî *amîrs*.

When the news of Shāh Mīr's arrest became known to the army the Foreigners who were the flower of the Qutb Shāhī troops, became utterly disorganized and lost heart altogether, so that the 'Ādil Shāhī army, on hearing of their condition, were greatly encouraged and attacked the Qutb Shāhī army with great valour. As most of the bravest of the Qutb Shāhī army were foreigners who were utterly confounded by Shāh Mīr's arrest, they made no effort to repulse the enemy, and, when the forces met, fled without striking a blow. The 'Ādil Shāhī army thus utterly defeated the Qutb Shāhī army and, slaying large numbers of them, dispersed them, capturing most of the elephants and baggage. They took 215 elephants, and from this statement the amount of the rest of the plunder can be estimated.

The whole of the Qutb Shāhī army having thus taken to flight with no regard either for honour or for shame, Mīrzā Yādgar and the other Nizām Shāhī *amīrs*, in spite of their utmost efforts, could do nothing and were compelled to flee.

XCV.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE MARCH OF SAYYID MURTAZĀ, AMĪR-UL-UMARĪ FROM BERAR TO AHMADNAGAR WITH HIS ARMY, FOR THE PURPOSE OF HUMBLING THE POWER OF ṢALĀBAT KHĀN, AND OF THE RENEWAL OF PEACE BY THE EFFORTS OF ASAD KHĀN.

It has already been mentioned that Sayyid Murtaẓā, when he returned with his army from the expedition to Bijāpūr, would not enter the capital, owing to his quarrel with Ṣalābat Khān, which was sedulously promoted by the ill-wishers of both, but turned aside and entered Berar by way of the town of AUSA. Meanwhile the power and influence of Ṣalābat Khān had been constantly growing greater until he began to decide all affairs of state without in any way consulting Asad Khān, and used not even to submit Asad Khān's petitions on affairs to the king, and even when a *farmān* issued to Asad Khān by name it was not, for fear of Ṣalābat Khān, carried to him. Asad Khān therefore proposed to summon Sayyid Murtaẓā, with the army of Berar, to Ahmadnagar, in order to overthrow Ṣalābat Khān. The *amīr-ul-umārā* Sayyid Murtaẓā and his officers, such as Jamshīd Khān, Khudāvand Khān Bahri Khān, Chandā Khān, Tīr Andāz Khān, Rustam Khān, Shīr Khān Dastūr Khān and others, having renewed their compact to support Asad Khān, marched with their troops from the capital of Berar towards Ahmadnagar. When they reached the capital they encamped without the city, and Ṣalābat Khān, who feared the strength of the army of Berar and was, moreover, suspicious of the fidelity of the greater part of the troops under his own command, began to make overtures to Asad Khān and so succeeded in pacifying him that Asad Khān went to the *Amīr-ul-umārā* and used his utmost endeavours to persuade him to refrain from any act of warfare, which could not fail to lead to the ruin and desolation of the great part of the kingdom. Asad Khān succeeded in making peace between the *amīrs* of Berar and Ṣalābat Khān, and the *amīr-ul-umārā* with all his *amīrs* returned with great pomp and honour to the capital of Berar.²⁶³

²⁶³ According to Firishta it was in 1584 that the quarrel between Sayyid Murtaẓā and Ṣalābat Khān developed into open hostility. In that year Ṣalābat Khān sent Qāsim Beg and Mīrzā Muhammad Taqī Shīrāzī on a mission to Bijāpūr to arrange a marriage between the sister of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shah II and the young prince Husain of Ahmadnagar. He ordered Jamshīd Khān Shīrāzī, one of the *amīrs* of Berar, to accompany the mission with his contingent as an escort. Jamshīd Khān replied that he was subordinate to Sayyid Murtaẓā, and would take orders from him only. He sent the order to Sayyid Murtaẓā, who informed him that he had been instructed to obey no orders but those bearing the king's own signature and that as this order had not been signed by the king it should not be obeyed. Jamshīd Khān passed on this reply to Ṣalābat Khān, and the ill-feeling between Sayyid Murtaẓā and Ṣalābat Khān became so acute that the former marched on Ahmadnagar, as described—F. ii, 281, 282.

At this time Khvâjagî Fathullâh Khâshî²⁶⁴ arrived at the royal court as ambassador from Jalâl-ud-dîn Muḥammad Akbar Shâh, and, after having been honourably received by the *amîrs* and the principal officers of the army, was honoured with an audience of Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh. According to the royal command a suitable palace was placed at his disposal and many of the courtiers, *amîrs*, and officers of state entertained him at choice banquets in pavilions erected for the purpose.

The *Bâgh-i-Farah Bahsh*, laid out by the command of Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh, had at this time just been completed, and was one of the most beautiful gardens that the world has seen. The king now held his court in this garden and gave a great banquet there. Here the court poets attended and sang the praises of the building and its builder. Among these was Maulânâ Malik Qumî, some of whose verses on this occasion are here recorded.

It is said that some dispute arose in this assembly among the poets who were present regarding the order of precedence in which they should recite their poems and that Maulânâ Şairafî Sâwajî, who was one of the poets present would not recite his poem, although he had a copy of it with him. This matter was reported to Şalâbat Khân, who called Şairafî to him and asked him about his poem. The Maulânâ related to Şalâbat Khân the story of the dispute regarding precedence. Şalâbat Khân said to Şairafî, who was a wild looking man, 'Wash your face, for it is best that this matter be washed out.'

XCVI.—ŞÂH SÂLIH OBTAINS ACCESS TO THE KING, AND IS HANDED OVER TO ŞALÂBAT KHÂN.

When Şalâbat Khân had got all power in the state into his own hands, and was acting as though he were in truth the king, he took greater care than ever to keep the king well guarded and had the garden and all the approaches to it so closely watched by sentries and confidential officers that it might almost be said that neither the birds nor the air could obtain access to the garden. Nobody had access from without to the king save a young eunuch who was in Şalâbat Khân's confidence.

But Shâh Şâlih, son of Maulânâ Shâh Muḥammad Nishâbûrî, who had been one of the closest attendants on the king and was much annoyed by his inability to attend, as heretofore, on the king's person, determined at all costs to see his master and in his anger regarded not at all what was likely to be his fate. On the first of the month when, in accordance with the practice in the Dakan, all the army assembled to congratulate the king and to wish him good fortune, Shâh Şâlih, putting his trust in heaven alone, succeeded in approaching the wall of the garden, scaled it, and dropped down into the garden. He knew not where the king's lodging was, and the darkness of the night prevented him from distinguishing it. The king, however, was walking in the garden and Shâh Şâlih happened to meet him. It was a long time since any stranger had had access to the garden, and the king, perceiving that somebody had now gained access, advanced with his sword drawn to find out who it was and why he had come. Shâh Şâlih, when he saw the king, threw himself at his feet and began to pray for his long life and prosperity. The king recognized him and spoke kindly to him, bidding him have no fear and encouraging him to make his petition. Shâh Şâlih explained his grievances and told the king how hardly Şalâbat dealt with his subjects and how he quarrelled with Sayyid Murtaẓâ. The king did not go to bed that night but spent

²⁶⁴ Khvâjagî Fathullâh, son of Hâjî Habibullâh of Kâshân, not to be confounded with Mîr Fathullâh of Shîrâz, was serving under the Khân-i-A'zam in Mâlwa in the 30th year of Akbar's reign (1585) and was sent as an envoy to Ahmadnagar when his namesake, the Shîrâzî Sayyid, was sent to the court of Râja 'Alî Khân of Khândesh. Sayyid 'Alî seems to be a year out in the date of Khvâjagî Fathullâh's mission, unless Fathullâh had been sent from Agra and joined Khân-i-A'zam in Mâlwa after returning from Ahmadnagar.

the whole night in inquiring into the condition of his kingdom and his subjects. When the day broke the king issued an order summoning Ṣalābat Khān to him and Ṣalābat Khān entered the garden in fear and terror and, having made his obeisance afar off, stood before the king. The king called him up and asked about Shāh Ṣālīḥ. Ṣalābat Khān replied that Shāh Ṣālīḥ had left the country some time ago. The king then called up Shāh Ṣālīḥ and showed him to Ṣalābat Khān. Ṣalābat Khān was overcome with shame and confusion and prostrated himself to ask for forgiveness. The king in his clemency pardoned him and ordered Shāh Ṣālīḥ to embrace him. He then confided Shāh Ṣālīḥ to Ṣalābat Khān's care and gave him strict injunctions to treat him with all kindness and consideration. Ṣalābat Khān took Shāh Ṣālīḥ by the hand and led him out of the garden. He then had a tent pitched for him in the neighbourhood of the garden and set a guard over him. He then put to death, as an example to others, the sentries through whose negligence Shāh Ṣālīḥ had been enabled to obtain access to the garden.

XCVII.—THE RENEWAL OF STRIFE BETWEEN ṢALĀBAT KHĀN AND SAYYID MURTAZĀ,
AND THE RUIN OF THE LATTER.

When Ṣalābat Khān had obtained all power in the state he sent revenue collectors into Berar to collect revenue from all the *khālīṣa* lands in that province. Sayyid Murtaẓā, who could not endure Ṣalābat Khān's tenure of the office of *vakīl*, refused to assist or recognize the collectors in any way and returned nothing but reproaches to all their requests. Ṣalābat Khān of course showed Sayyid Murtaẓā's contumacy to the king in its darkest light and obtained an order for the arrest of Sayyid Murtaẓā, but since all the *amīrs* of Berar, and especially Khudāvand Khān, Tīr Andāz Khān and Shīr Khān, who were among the greatest of the *amīrs* of the kingdom, were devoted to the interests of Sayyid Murtaẓā, and Asad Khān also, who held the titular office of *vakīl* and *pīshvā*, was secretly in correspondence with him, to arrest him was no easy matter. But Ṣalābat Khān was considering day and night how it could be compassed.

As Asad Khān was in league with the *amīrs* of Berar, Ṣalābat Khān, in the petition which he sent to the king in this case, represented him as a partner in their guilt, and as there was nobody to carry petitions from Asad Khān, or present his case to the king, Ṣalābat Khān's statements naturally carried great weight and so enraged the king with Asad Khān that he gave Ṣalābat Khān full authority to depose him from his office.

Just now Ṣalābat Khān bethought him of a device whereby he could sow discord between the *amīrs* of Berar. It had been customary to send all the yearly *khāl'ats* for Berar to Sayyid Murtaẓā, leaving the distribution of them to him, but this year Ṣalābat Khān issued a separate *khāl'at* to be sent to each *amīr*, each by a separate messenger, and each *amīr* was separately encouraged to hope for advancement and for the royal favour. When the order of Berar appeared wearing their *khāl'ats* without having consulted Sayyid Murtaẓā in the matter, Sayyid Murtaẓā grew suspicious of them, and the concord that had previously existed among them was changed into discord.

Khudāvand Khān was more intimate with, and more devoted to Sayyid Murtaẓā than were any of the other *amīrs*, and he suspected that the *khāl'at* and the message which he had received with it, were a device to sow discord, and did not receive it. He then hastened to Sayyid Murtaẓā and placed his services at his disposal. When the other *amīrs* saw that Khudāvand Khān gone to Sayyid Murtaẓā and placed at his disposal, they all hastened to follow his example, and assembled before him. He then invested them all with the royal *khāl'ats* by Sayyid Murtaẓā's order, and thus the concord was restored.

Khân, renewed their engagements with Sayyid Murtaẓâ, agreeing to join him in opposing Ṣalâbat Khân and to consider how the latter could best be overthrown before he could perfect plans against which they would be unable to contend.

It was now the rainy season, and it rained heavily daily, from morning until evening, so that movements of troops were not to be thought of. The *amîrs* therefore, after consulting together, decided to disperse to their own districts and there to employ themselves in preparing their forces for war, so that when Canopus should rise and the rains should cease they might march with one accord against those who stirred up strife in the kingdom.

When Ṣalâbat Khân heard of the confederacy of the *amîrs* and of the renewal of the bond between them he was much perturbed and took counsel with his intimates as to the best means of meeting this difficulty.

At this time the king expressed a desire to visit the palace and garden of Ahmadnagar, which was known as Baghdâd, and on Ṣafar 2, A.H. 992 (Feb. 14, 1584) he left the old garden of the watercourse, in which he had lived in complete retirement for nearly twelve years, as some say, for the citadel of Ahmadnagar and inspected the palace and buildings of the city. The king had never seen the beautiful garden known as the watercourse of Ni'mat Khân, since its completion, and he therefore turned to it, to inspect it. It so happened that the water channel which conveyed water to that garden and garden house had burst and flooded the whole garden and the king remained no longer than one night in that dwelling, but went on to the garden of the 'Ibâdathkhâna, which was one of the buildings of his reign. There he stayed for nearly a week, and thence he went on to the village of Manjaresna situated in a valley full of beautiful springs and covered with verdure, with fountains springing from the green hill side. Ṣalâbat Khân had artificial tanks formed both in the valley and on the hill tops, and in them fountains played, and the tanks were surrounded by beautiful buildings. Without exaggeration the village is one of the best worth seeing in the world and there can be few so pleasant in the world.²⁶⁵

The king, after enjoying himself both bodily and spiritually in this place, returned to Ahmadnagar and having completed his tour of all the fine buildings and gardens around the capital, turned his attention to sensual pleasures and inquired after several of the attendants of the *ḥaram*. He then ordered the dancing girls of the city to be sent for, and some were selected for the royal service, among them one named Tuljî, who was one of the most beautiful women in the world, and bold and alluring, and who was distinguished above her fellows by the receipt of special marks of the royal favour.

At this time Ṣalâbat Khân entirely deprived Asad Khân of all power in the administration and became absolute. When the royal command that the prince of the age²⁶⁶ should remain in the village of Pâtorî was issued, Ṣalâbat Khân placed Nâsira, one of his own trusted servants, in charge of the gate of Ahmadnagar and used occasionally to travel backwards and forwards between the city and Pâtorî.

XCVIII.—THE CONCLUSION OF PEACE BETWEEN THE NIZÂM SHÂHÎ AND 'ÂDIL SHÂHÎ DYNASTIES, AND THE MARRIAGE BETWEEN SHÂHZÂDA MÎRÂN SHÂH ḤUSAIN AND THE SISTER OF IBRÂHÎM 'ÂDIL SHÂH II.

Before Asad Khân was deposed from the office of *vakîl* and *pîshvâ*, a sister of Muḥammad Qulî Qutb Shâh had been selected as the bride of Mîrân Ḥusain, but after the deposition of Asad Khân, who had always cultivated the alliance with Telingâna, Ṣalâbat Khân, making

²⁶⁵ According to Firishta it was on receipt of the news that Sayyid Murtaẓâ was again marching to attack him, early in 1584, that Ṣalâbat Khân removed the king from the *Bâgh-i-Hasht Bihisht* first to the *Bâgh-i-Faraḥ Bakhsh* and afterwards to the Baghdâd palace, where he provided him with a companion to amuse him and keep him occupied.—F. ii. 282.

²⁶⁶ Burhân-ud-dîn, afterwards Burhân Nizâm Shâh II.

the approach of the army of Telingāna his pretext,²⁶⁷ reproached Muḥammad Qulī Qutb Shāh, and set about preparing the way for a marriage between the prince and the sister of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I, and, having obtained the king's consent thereto, he opened negotiations for the marriage. It was necessary to send an embassy to Bijāpūr for the purpose, and the officers selected were Ḥakīm Qāsim Beg, Mīrzā Muḥammad Taqī *Vazīr-ul-Ḥukūmah*, and Jamshīd Khān, one of the *amīrs* of Berar. A *farmān* was sent to summon Jamshīd Khān from Berar, but as he feared artifice on the part of Ṣalābat Khān and regarded this *farmān* as part of a plot for his undoing he hesitated to obey the summons.²⁶⁸ Ṣalābat Khān, in order to reassure Jamshīd Khān, wrote to him and told him that he might proceed direct from Chitāpūr to Bijāpūr, and need not appear at the capital, but Jamshīd Khān was still suspicious and wrote to Sayyid Murtaẓā and all the *amīrs* of Berar, instigating them to rise against Ṣalābat Khān. The *amīrs*, in accordance with their former bond, marched from their districts with all their troops and assembled at Chitāpūr, which was the *jāgīr* of Jamshīd Khān. Sayyid Murtaẓā also marched from Bālāpūr, which was his capital, in the middle of Shawwāl,²⁶⁹ with all his troops and encamped before Chitāpūr. The *amīrs* of Berar, being now all met together at Chitāpūr, with a large and united army, renewed their engagements each with the others, and Sayyid Murtaẓā, with the assent of the rest, raised the *vazīr* Mīrzā Ḥusain Isfahānī, who had been appointed by the king *vazīr* of the whole of Berar, to the rank of *amīr*, assigned the Elichpūr district to him in *jāgīr* and entrusted the protection of Berar to him and Chaghataī Khān, who both marched from Chitāpūr back to Berar and entered upon their duties. The rest of the *amīrs* then marched with their armies towards the capital.

When the news of the advance of the *amīrs* of Berar was received in Ahmadnagar, Ṣalābat Khān set about preparing the royal army for the field, and calling upon the *amīrs* and the officers of the army to swear fidelity to him. Many of the principal men of the army, who were outwardly partisans of Ṣalābat Khān secretly sent messages to Sayyid Murtaẓā, promising that when the *amīrs* were face to face they would desert Ṣalābat Khān and join the army of Berar, and so co-operate with it in the attempt to overthrow Ṣalābat Khān. Some even, such as Mīrzā Yādgar and Shāhvardī Khān, openly broke with Ṣalābat Khān before the near approach of the army of Berar and left Ahmadnagar to join Sayyid Murtaẓā. But since it had been eternally decreed that the army of Berar, which was in truth in rebellion against its lord and master, should be defeated and flee, their strength and numbers availed them nothing, for victory depends on the will of God and not on numbers.

The *amīrs* of Berar, with their great army, reached the pass of Jeūr,²⁷⁰ which is two leagues from the city of Ahmadnagar, on Zī-l-Ḥijjah 5, in the year above mentioned, (Dec. 8, A.D. 1584) and encamped there for that night. On the next day, Zī-l-Ḥijjah 6, they lay in their camp, expecting no attack and utterly unprepared for battle, having neglected all ordinary military precautions, when Ṣalābat Khān suddenly surrounded the hills on which they were encamped with the royal army, elephants and artillery. The *amīrs* of Berar, completely surprised, hurriedly armed themselves and mounted their horses in great confusion and drew up their troops as best they might to meet the royal army.²⁷¹ The conflict then began with artillery fire. Kludāvand Khān, who commanded the left wing of the

²⁶⁷ It is not quite clear how this can have been made a pretext for breaking off negotiations with Golconda, unless the army of that State were menacing the frontier. No such movement is recorded.

²⁶⁸ Firishṭa gives a slightly different account of this affair. See note 263.

²⁶⁹ October, 1584.

²⁷⁰ Jeūr, in 19° 18' N. and 74° 49' E. about thirteen miles north-east of Ahmadnagar.

²⁷¹ This is a much more detailed account of the battle of Jeūr than that given by Firishṭa (ii. 282).

army of Berar, boldly charged the right wing of the royal army, which was commanded by Bihzād-ul-Mulk, and at the first onslaught threw it into confusion. Bihzād-ul-Mulk was wounded and his troops were dispersed. The household troops, who had agreed to support Sayyid Murtaẓā against Ṣalābat Khān made the defeat of Bihzād-ul-Mulk's wing a pretext for flight, and carried off prince Mirān Husain with them. Jamshīd Khān, who commanded the advanced guard of the army of Berar, when he saw Khudāvand Khān's success against Bihzād-ul-Mulk, led his troops on to attack the advanced guard of the royal army, which was commanded by Ṣalābat Khān, but he had scarcely reached the enemy when his horse was shot under him. He tried to reach another horse in order to mount it, but a swordsman so wounded him in both legs that he could not move and was made a prisoner by the royal army. The advanced guard under Ṣalābat Khān then charged and drove back Jamshīd's troops and fell on the corps commanded by Tīr Andāz Khān and Shīr Khān and dispersed them. The left wing of the royal army and the right wing of the army of Berar had now closed and were so intermingled that friend could not be distinguished from foe. Ṣalābat Khān now, with a picked force and several elephants, attacked the troops under the immediate command of Sayyid Murtaẓā, and threw them into confusion. Sayyid Murtaẓā made every attempt to rally his men, but they could not respond and Sayyid Murtaẓā was compelled to flee. When Khudāvand Khān returned from his successful attack on the right wing of the royal army, he found the army of Berar dispersed and was himself compelled to flee.

The army of Berar, overconfident in its great strength, made no account of Ṣalābat Khān and at length their treachery to their king and their own foolish pride led to their defeat and overthrow, and they were driven into exile. —

The royal army pursued the army of Berar and took much spoil, including horses, elephants, beautiful maidservants and slave boys, gold, jewels, and all sorts of valuable property and stuffs. Ṣalābat Khān, having been granted by God so great a victory, returned thanks to the giver of victory and ordered the troops under his command to interfere in no way with the property or women of the inhabitants of Berar, and to slay none, but to send any who might be captured to a place of safety.

In this dreadful battle no famous man of valour was slain, save Shāhvardī Khān, who had deserted from the royal army to Sayyid Murtaẓā and Bahrām Khān, who was wounded with a spear by one of the elephants of his own army. The army of Berar having dispersed and fled, Ṣalābat Khān did not pursue them in person, but told off a body of Kolis for that purpose, and himself returned to court with the prince Mirān Husain.

Mirak Mu'in, who was at that time Sayyid Murtaẓā's agent and representative at court, on the day on which the battle was fought took every precaution to ensure his own safety and having promised the body of infantry placed at his disposal by Sayyid Murtaẓā, large pay and rewards, persuaded them that the amīr-ul-umará was victorious and had defeated the army of Ṣalābat Khān. He ordered them to protect their own quarters from the mob until the army of Berar arrived, when they would be rewarded. The soldier believed what Mirak Mu'in told them and armed themselves for battle. Naṣīr Khān, with a large force of cavalry and infantry surrounded their quarters and a fight ensued. The Berar infantry, ignorant of the flight of the amīrs, bravely defended their quarters, keeping off the attacking force with spears and arrows. While the combat was at its height, Mirak Mu'in fled by a secret way to the house of one of his friends who lived near, then changed his clothes and fled, in the guise of a faqīr, and joined Sayyid Murtaẓā's arm.

At this time the king issued an order for the execution of the prince Mirzâ Husain,²⁷² for the astrologers had represented to the king that the prince would be the cause of his ruin and would even attack the royal person. For this reason the king was ever endeavouring to compass the prince's death, and issuing farmans ordering his execution. Şalâbat Khân, however, hesitated to carry out these orders and shewed great negligence in the matter of bringing the prince to execution.

In the end the prophecies of the astrologers were verified and this prince was the cause of the ruin of his dynasty, as will shortly be shown.

When the royal order for the execution of the prince was issued, Şalâbat Khân represented that the prince was so unwell that it was possible that his sickness would be fatal, and that the king would thus be relieved of all anxiety. This answer so enraged the king that he came near to dismissing Şalâbat Khân, and this was the first breach in the foundation of Şalâbat Khân's power and influence.

Sayyid Murtaẓâ and the other *amîrs*, when they reached Akbar's capital, were admitted to an audience,²⁷³ and Akbar, who had long been cogitating the conquest of the Dakan, regarded the arrival of Sayyid Murtaẓâ and the other *amîrs*, who were among the greatest men of that country, as an evidence of good fortune and prestige, and his ambition of conquest was renewed. He now appointed the pillar of his kingdom, Mirzâ 'Azîz Kûka,²⁷⁴ who was at that time governor of the province of Mâlwa, to the command of this great expedition and having bestowed honours and favours on Murtaẓâ and the other *amîrs*, appointed them and other highly placed *amîrs* and *khâns* of his own court to an army to be placed under the orders of Mirzâ 'Azîz Kûka. This army marched from the capital to Mâlwa and joined Mirzâ 'Azîz Kûka. The imperial forces then marched to the town of Hindiya which is at the junction of the frontiers of Mâlwa, Burhânpûr, and the Dakan and encamped there. The victorious *Şâhib Qirân* (Burhân Nizâm Shâh) was at that time one of the *amîrs* of Akbar's court and was sent to the assistance of this army.

When Şalâbat Khân heard of the approach of the imperial army, he reported the matter to the king, and the king ordered that the army of Berar, strengthened and reinforced by other *amîrs* with their contingents, should march to oppose the imperial army. The Sayyid, Âsaf Jâh Mirzâ Muḥammad Taqî, *vazîr* of the kingdom (province) was appointed to the command of this army, and was sent to Berar, and the prince, Mirzâ Husain, was allowed to depart, with a body of troops, to Daulatâbâd. Mirzâ Muḥammad Taqî hastened to join the army to which he had been appointed and then busied himself in preparing it for battle. He then, having brought the army to a high degree of discipline, marched to the borders of Burhanpur.

The army of the Dakan then encamped on the banks of the Tâptî, which flows by the city of Burhânpûr. The ruler of Khândesh, who had agreed to oppose the advance of Akbar's army, sent several of his *amîrs* to see the *amîrs* of the Dakan and to renew his treaties and engagements with them.

²⁷² Firishta does not mention this sentence of death passed on prince Husain.

²⁷³ Sayyid Murtaẓâ and the *amîrs* of Berar were presented at Akbar's court on the Nawûz festival (March 21, 1585).

²⁷⁴ Khân-i-A'ẓam, Akbar's foster brother. This proposed invasion of the Dakan dwindled into an abortive raid into Berar, whence the invaders were compelled to retreat in haste, almost to flee, into Gujarât. The failure of the expedition was largely due to the insubordination of the *amîrs* of Mâlwa, and especially of Shihâb-ud-dîn Ahmad Khân, *jâgirdâr* of Ujjain, who had formerly been governor of Mâlwa and had been implicated in the murder of Khân-i-A'ẓam's father, Shams-ud-dîn Muḥammad Atghâ Khân. Nothing would induce Shihâb-ud-dîn Ahmad Khân to co-operate with the Khân-i-A'ẓam. He withdrew to Ujjain and was with difficulty prevailed upon to refrain from marching against the governor.

Sultānpūr and Nandūrbār.²⁷⁹ When these were reached Mirzā 'Aziz Kūka left his army on the borders of Sultānpūr, while he marched rapidly in light order to Gujarāt. The imperial army and the Nizām Shāhi army lay over against one another on the Sultānpūr border until Mirzā 'Aziz Kūka returned from Gujarāt and retreated with his army to Ujjain, and the army of the Dakan then left the frontier and returned to the capital. It was in truth by God's blessing that the Nizām Shāhi army was enabled, in the king's absence, successfully to oppose the imperial army of Dihli, which had overrun so many countries and ruined so many kings.

XCIX.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE MISSION OF QĀSIM BEG AND MIRZĀ MUHAMMAD TAQĪ TO BIJĀPŪR, FOR THE PURPOSE OF BRINGING BACK FOR THE PRINCE, MIRĀN HUSAIN, THE SISTER OF IBRĀHIM 'ADIL SHĀH II.

When Šalābat Khān was relieved of the anxiety caused by the near presence of the imperial army, he busied himself in arranging for the marriage of Mirān Husain, and, in pursuance of the former agreement, sent the physician Qāsim Beg and Mirzā Muḥammad Taqī with valuable presents and offerings to arrange with Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II for the journey of his sister to Ahmadnagar, to meet her husband, Mirān Husain. These envoys, after reaching the city of Bijāpūr, brought their mission to a successful termination and returned to Ahmadnagar with conciliatory answers from Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh. Mirzā Muḥammad Taqī was then deputed to bring the bride and set out for Bijāpūr with this object. He brought the royal bride, seated in a howdah, in great state to Ahmadnagar, but as the whole of the negotiations had proceeded on the basis of the retrocession of the fortress of Sholāpūr, and Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II evaded the fulfilment of this condition, Šalābat Khān delayed the marriage feast and festivities until the fortress should have been surrendered.

At this time the king's infatuation for Tulji, the dancing girl, greatly increased and the dancers succeeded in obtaining anything that they wished, until one day the king, when in a specially generous mood, gave to one of the dancing girls a necklace of pearls, each pearl of which was a gem of the finest water. Naṣir Khān took the necklace to Šalābat Khān and told him the story of its having been given by the king to the dancing girl, and suggested that its return should be demanded. According to some the king commanded that the rope of pearls should be given to a person whom Šalābat Khān deemed to be unworthy of it, and Šalābat Khān hesitated to carry out the order. Whichever story be true it is certain that the king was so enraged with Šalābat Khān that he set light to the treasury, and burnt and destroyed utterly countless jewels, rich stuffs, and rare valuables from all cities and countries. When the flames leaped up their sparks were wasted to the royal library and other buildings, and the smoke of destruction began to arise from these. The royal servants did their best and with great difficulty succeeded in rescuing from the flames a very little out of very much.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁹ The Khān-i-A'zam reached Nandūrbār on April 10, 1586. On reaching Ahmadābād he nearly succeeded in persuading his brother-in-law, the Khānkhānān, to join him in an expedition to Ahmadnagar, but the approach of the rainy season and troubles in Mālwa prevented the enterprise.—A. N.

²⁸⁰ Firāhta says (ii, 253, 284) that the name of this dancing girl was Fathī Shāh and that the king wished to give her two costly necklaces of pearls, sapphires, and rubies, which had formed part of the Vijayanagar booty. He also says that Šalābat Khān at first refused to give the necklaces to Fathī Shāh and that when the king insisted substituted, after consultation with the *amirs*, two other necklaces. The woman discovered the substitution and complained to the king, who sent for Šalābat Khān and ordered him to have all the state jewels brought forth from the treasury and arranged in a room in the palace. Šalābat Khān, bent on saving the Vijayanagar necklaces, concealed them, but had all the other jewels set out. The king caused the room to be cleared and went with Fathī Shāh to inspect the jewels. On missing the Vijayanagar necklaces he became so enraged that he wrapped up all the jewels in some valuable carpets, set fire to the carpets, and left the room. His attendants rushed in to save what they could and succeeded in saving all the jewels except the pearls, so that they and the carpets were all that was lost. From this day forth Murtazā Nizām Shāh was known as "the Madman."

Although some attribute the king's act to folly and senseless wastefulness and say that as boundless generosity and prodigality bring about in time miserliness and penuriousness, so excess leads to folly and wastefulness; yet the act was in truth evidence of the king's lofty spirit, which counted as nothing beside itself the world and all that was in it. This it was which had led him to withdraw from affairs of state and to pass his time in acquiring merit.

When the dancing girls had obtained so much influence as to be admitted to intimate converse with the king, and had ascertained that the king was becoming estranged from Şalâbat Khân, they began still further to poison the king's mind against him and to open the doors of strife and discord. They continually harped on Şalâbat Khân's independent power in the state and proved to the king that he habitually disobeyed the king's commands, until the king began to make trial of Şalâbat Khân by commanding him to perform duties little suited to his dignity²⁸¹. Thus at this time a *farmân* was issued ordering Şalâbat Khân to go to the fortress of Darb²⁸² and not to return until further orders. Although Şalâbat Khân so far obeyed the order as to go in haste to the fortress, he did not wait for an order recalling him, but returned without it. A few days later Şalâbat Khân was ordered to go to Junnâr and, having prepared a lofty throne, to await in the village of Nârângâon the arrival of the king, who proposed to tour in that part of his dominions. Şalâbat Khân proceeded to obey that order, and rendered acceptable service, but, as before, did not remain where he was, but returned to court without leave. In addition to all this, the petition of Wâghojî, *Nâikwâdî* of the fort of Shivner, full of slander of Şalâbat Khân, was presented to the king by means of the dancing girls and added to the king's indignation against his minister. The king now issued a fresh order directing Şalâbat Khân to go to the village of Pâtorî²⁸³ and set up a throne there, and a pavilion for the throne and everything that might be necessary for the holding of a royal court. Şalâbat Khân set out for Pâtorî and busied himself in carrying out the orders which he had received. The king's health now gave way, and the court physicians, among them Qâsim Beg and Hakîm Hasan Kâshî, were engaged in treating him until the chief physician, Hakîm Mişrî, arrived from the hospital and by his treatment completely restored the king to health.

While the physicians were employed in treating the king, Şalâbat Khân once again returned to the capital without leave, and the king, enraged by his repeated acts of disobedience, summoned him to court. Şalâbat Khân never entered the royal presence without fear

²⁸¹ According to Firishta what chiefly enraged the king against Şalâbat Khân was the advance of Ibrâhîm 'Adil Shâh II to the frontier. Ibrâhîm insisted that the marriage between his sister and prince Husain should be consummated or that his sister should be sent back. Şalâbat Khân replied that neither request could be complied with until the fortress of Sholâpûr had been retroceded. Ibrâhîm thereupon crossed the frontier and laid siege to the fortress of Ausa. Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh sent for Şalâbat Khân, upbraided him for having brought this trouble on the state, and accused him of treachery. Şalâbat Khân protested his loyalty and the king accused him, with more reason, of disobedience, and weakly added that if he had the power he would imprison him. Şalâbat Khân replied that he was the king's humble servant and only required to be told in which fort he was to be imprisoned, when he would go there and remain there as a prisoner.—F. ii, 284.

²⁸² Firishta says (ii, 285) that Şalâbat Khân was ordered to go to Danda-Râjpûrî and, on receiving the order, went straight to his house, caused his servants to put him in irons, and, in spite of the protests of his followers, went to Dandâ-Râjpûrî and remained a prisoner there. On his departure the king appointed Qâsim Beg Hakîm *vakil* and *pishvâ* and Mirzâ Muḥammad Taqî Naẓîrî minister. Firishta does not mention the subsequent movements of Şalâbat Khân, here described. According to him Şalâbat Khân remained obediently in Danda-Râjpûrî until he was recalled, by Firishta's own advice, to counteract the plots of Sulṭân Husain Sabzavârî, who had received the title of Mirzâ Khân. Sayyid Ali appears to relate all the stories circulated by Şalâbat Khân's enemies.

²⁸³ Pâthardî, about thirty-one miles east of Ahmadnagar.

and trembling, and the king, taking advantage of his nervous terror, hid behind a deer and suddenly came forth as Ṣalābat Khān entered, and stopped him, with his sword drawn, intending to cut him down. Ṣalābat Khān, seeing the king before him with his sword raised, fell and rolled on the ground like a half-killed bird and wept and howled for mercy. The king, overcome by this sight, refrained from slaying him and ordered that he should be imprisoned. On Ṣafar 10, in the year mentioned above,²⁸⁴ a *farmān* was issued to Mīrzâ Ṣādiq and Bihzād-ul-Mulk, ordering them to send Ṣalābat Khān to the fortress of Parenda, and to undertake jointly the administration of the kingdom. Mīrzâ Ṣādiq and Bihzād-ul-Mulk then became joint *vakils* and *pīshvās* and sent Ṣalābat Khān to the fortress of Parenda. On his arrival there a fresh *farmān* was received, ordering that he should be sent to the fortress of Ausa, and he was accordingly sent thither.

When Bihzād-ul-Mulk had acted as *vakīl* and *pīshvā* jointly with Mīrzâ Ṣādiq for a short time, he plotted to oust Mīrzâ Ṣādiq from the office in order that he himself might hold it alone, thereby following the example set by Ṣalābat Khān. His designs became known to the king, who was angered by them, and a *farmān* was issued to Mīrzâ Ṣādiq ordering him to imprison Bihzād-ul-Mulk and send him to Parenda, and to undertake the duties of *vakīl* and *pīshvā* by himself. The order was obeyed, and Bihzād-ul-Mulk was sent to Parenda and imprisoned at the end of the month of Ṣafar (Feb. A.D. 1587), while Mīrzâ Ṣādiq undertook alone the duties of the office of *vakīl* and *pīshvā*, and drew all power in the state into his own hands. At this time Tuljī the dancing girl and her followers, who had till now been in attendance on the king day and night, were debarred from his presence, and his own servants had access to him once again. One of them, named Ismā'īl, received the title of Ismā'īl Khān, or rather Ismā'īl Shāh, and rose by degrees to be an *amīr* and to great power in the state.

C.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE MARCH OF IBRĀHĪM 'ĀDIL SHĀH II WITH HIS ARMY TO THE COUNTRY OF MURTAẒĀ NIẒĀM SHĀH, AND OF THE DISPUTES THAT AROSE THEREFROM.

It has already been mentioned that when Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh objected to surrendering the fortress of Sholāpūr, Ṣalābat Khān postponed the marriage feast of Mīrān Ḥusain and thus put an end to the friendship between the two royal houses. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh then set himself to cultivate the friendship of Muḥammad Qulī Qutb Shāh, and to enter into an alliance with that family; he marched with his army and sent an envoy to Muḥammad Qulī Qutb Shāh, professing friendship for him and a desire to be connected with his family by marriage. Muḥammad Qulī Qutb Shāh, who also had reason to be displeased with Ṣalābat Khān, received these overtures favourably and agreed to give Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh his sister in marriage, but for fear of Ṣalābat Khān hesitated to send her. In the meantime news of the arrest of Ṣalābat Khān was received, and Muḥammad Qulī Qutb Shāh, whose mind was now easy regarding Ṣalābat Khān, took advantage of the opportunity to conclude the marriage festivities of his sister and Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II, and then Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh marched with his army towards the kingdom of Ahmadnagar and wasted the frontier province of the kingdom.

Mīrzâ Ṣādiq reported this matter to the king, who commanded that Ṣalābat Khān and Bihzād-ul-Mulk should be released from confinement and placed in administrative charge and military command of their own *jāgīrs*, that Shāhzāda Mīrān Ḥusain should be interned

²⁸⁴ No year has been mentioned but H. 995 appears to have been the year, in which case this date would be equivalent to Jan. 20, A.D. 1587.

in Daulatābād, and that the royal *pīshkhāna* should be dispatched towards Bijāpūr, while the *amirs* and chiefs of the army repaired to the capital with their troops. Mīrzā Ṣādiq was ordered to submit a report when all this should have been done.

Mīrzā Ṣādiq, in obedience to the royal command, sent a messenger to summon Ṣalābat Khān and Bihzād-ul-Mulk from the fortresses in which they were imprisoned, placed Mīrān Ḥusain in Daulatābād, and sent the royal *pīshkhānā* on towards Bijāpūr. He then reported to the king that his commands had been executed.

The king now reflected that the recall of Ṣalābat Khān to duty would be attributed to infirmity of purpose on his part, and a fresh order was issued to the effect that Ṣalābat Khān should be detained as before, and should not be summoned to the presence. Bihzād-ul-Mulk had not reached the fortress to which he was being sent when the *farmān* recalling him reached him, and he returned to court. Ṣalābat Khān acted on the first *farmān* which had reached him, paying no attention to the prohibition in the second *farmān*, and set out for the capital. Bihzād-ul-Mulk on his return to the capital endeavoured, as before, to associate himself with Mīrzā Ṣādiq in the office of *vakīl* and *pīshvā*, but this design conflicted with Mīrzā Ṣādiq's plans, and he reported the matter to the king, from whom he obtained a fresh *farmān* for the arrest of Bihzād-ul-Mulk. Mīrzā Ṣādiq, having regard to the crisis, did not give effect to this order, but represented to the king that as the 'Ādil Shāhī army had reached the frontier, it would be better to postpone the arrest of Bihzād-ul-Mulk. The king was enraged by Mīrzā Ṣādiq's intercession for Bihzād-ul-Mulk, and issued a *farmān* to the latter directing him to arrest Mīrzā Ṣādiq and send him to the fortress of Rājūrī. In the meantime Ṣalābat Khān, who had set out in accordance with the first *farmān*, arrived at the capital, and when the king heard of his arrival he issued another *farmān* directing that he too should be sent to the fortress of Rājūrī. Bihzād-ul-Mulk, in obedience to these commands, sent Ṣalābat Khān and Mīrzā Ṣādiq together to Rājūrī.

The duration of Mīrzā Ṣādiq's tenure of the office of *pīshvā*, after the deposition of Ṣalābat Khān, was no more than nine days, but in these few days he did much for the people, organized many charities, and instituted many public works. Blessed is the man who is not intoxicated with the pride of ten days' power, but considers the poor and needy, and neglects not the oppressed and afflicted.

The duration of Ṣalābat Khān's tenure of the office of *pīshvā*, both alone and in association with Asad Khān was at least twelve years. He, too, certainly did much good while he was in power, and no *pīshvā* was ever so powerful as he was during this period.

At this time, owing to the constant change of *pīshvās*, the affairs of the kingdom fell into confusion, many villages were deserted and fell into ruins, and the inhabitants of the kingdom fell on evil days, and the kingdom began to decay.

Bihzād-ul-Mulk, finding the field now clear before him, was led on by ambition to represent to the king that without a *pīshvā* the affairs of the kingdom could not fail to fall into confusion, in the hope that the king would confer this high office on him. But it was far from the king's intention to appoint Bihzād-ul-Mulk *pīshvā*, and on Monday, Rabi-ul-Awwal 14 (Feb. 13, A.D. 1587) the post was conferred on Qāsim Beg, the son of Qāsim Beg.

Although Qāsim Beg at first, out of regard to his personal safety, declined the appointment, he was at length prevailed upon by Ḥakīm Miṣrī and other officers of state to accept office. A *farmān* was then issued ordering that Bihzād-ul-Mulk and Sanjar Khān should be imprisoned, and Qāsim Beg sent them to the fortress of Raṣṣūrī.

ut-Mamâlik, acquired the office of *pîshvâ* by the efforts of Futûh;²⁸⁶ but his tenure of the office lasted no longer than one night, for, at the end of the night on which he put on the robe of honour which had been conferred on him as *vakîl*, Habîb Khân, one of the immediate attendants of the king, gave Futûh a jewelled necklace and by his help became *vakîl* and *pîshvâ*, and the king removed Habîb Khân from the office of *pîshvâ* almost at the moment in which he conferred it on him.

Qâsim Beg was *vakîl* for nine months, and was followed by Habîb Khân who held office for one night.²⁸⁷ After that, in accordance with the royal command, the sons of some of the old officers of the court who had been concerned in public affairs gained access to the king's private council. Among these were Maulânâ Habîbullâh, son of Maulânâ 'Inâyatullâh Tâ'î, who in the days of the late king and in the early days of the reign of Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh had been one of the chief pillars of the Ahmadnagar kingdom, Sultân Husain, son of Sultân Hasan Sabzavârî, Vafâ Khân and the sons of the other *amîrs* and officers. These the king summoned to court, and as he was guided by divine grace, he followed the advice of the chief men in the kingdom, who were convinced, as though by inspiration, that Sultân Husain, who was known as Mîrzâ Khân, was inspired with capability for office. The king therefore commanded all to support him. Thereafter all, having been asked their age, were invested with robes of honour and allowed to depart. Early the next morning, at the instance of Futûh and her followers, the king summoned Maulânâ Habîbullâh, invested him with a robe of honour and appointed him to the administration of all the affairs of the kingdom. When the son of Maulânâ 'Inâyatullâh was transferred to the post of *vakîl*, he arrested most of the nobles and officers of the kingdom, and especially the foreigners, such as Qâsim Beg, Hakîm Misrî, Mîrzâ Muḥammad Taqî, Amin-ul-Mulk, Habîb Khân, Shâh Rafî'ud-dîn Husain, Mîrzâ Muqîm and others, and sent them to distant fortresses.

In the meantime the petition of Râja Bahârjîû²⁸⁸ had arrived at court. Its purport was that his brother, Nârâyan, had risen in rebellion against him and that many had gathered around him. He requested that a force might be sent from the capital to his assistance and promised to pay *nacl bahâ* and to regard himself thenceforward as a vassal of Ahmadnagar. In accordance with the royal command a number of the principal *amîrs*, such as Nûr Khân, Saif Khân, Abhang Khân, Jahângîr Khân and Saif-ul-Mulk, were sent with a large army to the assistance of Râja Bahârjîû, and Farhâd Khân was appointed to the command of the army. The *amîrs* marched in accordance with the royal command, and when they reached the frontier of Bahârjîû's country, they learnt that Nârâyanjîû had overpowered him and imprisoned him, and had established himself as independent ruler of the country. They therefore halted on the frontier and reported the condition of affairs to the capital. The son of Maulânâ 'Inâyatullâh was then beginning to totter, preparatory to falling from the office of *vakîl*, and nobody took the trouble to answer the letter of the *amîrs* until the Maulânâ was deposed and Mîrzâ Khân, with the assistance of Ismâ'îl Khân, was appointed *vakîl*. Then however, Mîrzâ Khân sent a man to recall the *amîrs* and entered into friendship with them.

The way of this matter was on this wise. When the son of Maulânâ 'Inâyatullâh had been *pîshvâ* for nearly three months, Mîrzâ Khân entered into a confederacy with Ismâ'îl Khân and promised to pay him the sum of 10,000 huns when he should be appointed, and in the

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As the greater part of the army, from the prince downwards, were openly disobedient, and the greater number of the foreigners and loyal servants, whose staunchness and fidelity will be remembered to their credit until the end of the world, and whose swords and counsel had ever been at the disposal of the kings of the Nizâm Shâhî dynasty, were now imprisoned in various fortresses by Ismâ'il Khân and his followers, who held all power in the state, and, being rendered helpless, owing to the quarrels between the *amîrs*, could not render any assistance at this crisis, and as the king suspected that all trouble had been brought about by Mirzâ Khân, whom he bitterly reproached, there was no course open to him but to send a humble message to Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, promising to pay him a large sum of money and to attempt to compose the quarrel by peaceful means.

Mirzâ Khân was now much alarmed, and attempted to persuade the king's servants, under whose charge he was, to let him go free, in order that he might persuade the *amîrs* to cease their opposition to the king's wishes, and to attack the 'Âdil Shâhî army. The fool Ismâ'il Khân, in his simplicity, believed that Mirzâ Khân was speaking the truth and let him go free. Mirzâ Khân then made off to the *amîrs* and at last openly showed himself a traitor. On the following day, he and all the *amîrs* marched with the army to Daulatâbâd and placed themselves at the disposal of the prince²⁹¹.

When Mirzâ Khân fled towards the *amîrs*, the royal camp moved from the village of Pâtori to Mahkarî, and thence to the capital.

Before Mirzâ Khân and the *amîrs* could reach Daulatâbâd and make obeisance to the prince, the *kotwâl* of that fortress and all its garrison had concurred in raising the prince to the throne, and had actually seated him on the throne. Râstîn Khân, governor of the city of Bîr, and all

²⁹¹ This account of the last days of the reign of Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh I is not correct. Firishta, who was employed by the king as a confidential agent and adviser during his contest with the prince, is a far better authority than Sayyid 'Alî. He says that when the *amîrs* and the army halted at Dhânora and refused to advance any further against the army of Bijâpûr, which was besieging Ausa, he was himself sent by the king to make inquiries in the camp and report the cause of the delay. Mirzâ Khân, who had returned to the city, was much alarmed by the deputation of Firishta, whom he knew to be devoted to the king's interest, and offered the dancing girl, Fathî Shâh, a bribe of 12,000 *hâns* to obtain an order appointing him to investigate the cause of the army's slothfulness. The bribe was accepted and the imbecile king sent Mirzâ Khân to the camp. Firishta fled from the camp on Mirzâ Khân's arrivâ and was pursued, but contrived to elude his pursuers and to reach Ahmadnagar in the morning, when he made his report to the king. He said that Mirzâ Khân intended to go to Daulatâbâd, release the prince, and raise him to the throne. Fathî Shâh, who was present at the interview, gave him the lie and said that it was inconceivable that Mirzâ Khân should be meditating treason. Firishta replied that he had no motive for wishing to injure Mirzâ Khân but feared that the truth of his report would soon be manifest. He was yet speaking when spies came in and reported that Mirzâ Khân and the *amîrs* were marching to Daulatâbâd with the object of proclaiming the prince. The king, in great alarm, asked Firishta what was to be done. Firishta replied that two measures, either of which was certain of success, were open. The first was to assemble the guards and march rapidly to Paithan to oppose the progress of the rebellious *amîrs*, who would be deserted by the army when it was seen that the king had taken the field. To this the king pleaded sickness caused by poison administered by a eunuch, who, he feared, had been in the pay of Mirzâ Khân. Firishta's second proposal was that Şalâbat Khân should be recalled from Dandâ Râjpuri, and that the king should be carried in his litter as far as Junnâr, to meet him. He said that the army, on learning that the king and Şalâbat Khân had met and were reconciled, would at once desert the prince and Mirzâ Khân and return to its allegiance. The king issued an order recalling Şalâbat Khân from Dandâ Râjpuri and would have started to meet him, had not the dancing girl dissuaded him by alarming him. The miserable king lost heart, and decided to await Şalâbat Khân's arrival in Ahmadnagar. It was Şalâbat Khân's arrival that Mirzâ Khân had feared, and in order to forestall it he was marching on Daulatâbâd by double stages. Firishta, seeing that the king was entirely in the hands of Fathî Shâh, was constrained to let events take their course—F. ii, 286-288.

the citizens had followed the example of Daulatābād, and declared for the prince. In the meantime Mīrzā Khān also, with the chief *amīrs*, arrived at Daulatābād and made obeisance to the prince. The accession of Mīrzā Khān and the *amīrs* greatly strengthened the position of the prince, and adherents began to assemble from all sides. The prince entrusted all affairs of administration to Mīrzā Khān and made him his *vakīl* and *pīshvā*, and even entered into an engagement with Mīrzā Khān to the effect that he would never even think of deposing him from the office of *vakīl* and *pīshvā*.

On the following day at sunrise Mīrzā Khān brought the prince forth from Daulatābād and they marched out into the open plain. It is said that when the prince left the fortress, the moon was in Scorpio, and although he was strongly advised not to leave the fort then, he paid no heed to the advice.

Mīrzā Khān, having brought the prince forth from the fort, presented to him the confederates who had declared for him, and when all the *amīrs*, officers, *silāhdārs*, and troops who had agreed to raise the prince to the throne had made their obeisance and had been assured of the increase of his bounty and favour towards them, some of them were promoted. Among these was Mīr Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Nishābūrī, who received the title of Khānkhānān and the appointment of *Sar-i-naubat*.

When the news of the prince's intentions reached the city of Ahmadnagar, most of the army, who were by nature a faithless crew, forgot their obligation and disgraced themselves by forsaking their lawful master and hastening to join the prince, and during the two or three days which the prince now spent in Daulatābād he was joined by innumerable troops.

When an enormous force had thus gathered round the prince's standard, the prince marched on Ahmadnagar. Meanwhile the king contracted dysentery and became very weak. Although Ismā'il Khān and his party strove hard to enlist some help, so that they might meet the rebels in the field, their efforts were unsuccessful. The dancing girls were now dispersed. Some of them hid their heads in holes and corners and others fled to all parts in fear of their lives. Ismā'il Khān, the head of that gang, was unable to cope with the calamity that had befallen him, and sent umbrella and *āstābgīrs*, the special insignia of royalty, by the hand of Dāūd Khān, another member of the gang, to the prince, and asked for an assurance that his life would be spared, but was so overcome by terror and perplexity that, without waiting for this assurance, he fled to the prince's camp. When Dāūd Khān, who had started before Ismā'il Khān, reached the prince's camp, he was slain by the turbulent mob, but Ismā'il's fate was not decided so soon, for when he arrived he was admitted to make his obeisance, and Mīrzā Khān, interceding for him, prevented the mob from doing him violence.

When the prince's army arrived before Ahmadnagar,²⁹² it halted by the *Kālā Chabūtra* in order that an auspicious hour for entering the city might be chosen, and the prince's tent was pitched there. The Sayyids, *maulavīs*, and the great men and the people of the city came forth to pay their respects and offer their congratulations, and received the honour of being allowed to make their obeisance, while the chief men of the army went out to welcome the prince, and all were graciously received. The next day at sunrise the prince mounted in royal state and rode with his *amīrs* and officers towards the citadel of Ahmadnagar to pay his respects to the king.

²⁹² On the arrival of Prince Hussain before Ahmadnagar, Firishta attempted to have the gates of the fort shut until Ṣalābat Khān should arrive; but all except Fathī Shāh and her maidservant, Sabza, had deserted the king, and there was none to carry out any orders. The prince and Mīrzā Khān, with thirty or forty ruffians, entered the fort and made their way to the Baghdād palace, slaying all whom they met on their way. Firishta was recognized by the prince as a school-fellow, and was protected by him
—F. ii. 288.

When the prince was admitted to the royal presence he made his obeisance,²⁹³ and the king with paternal kindness called him to him. A number of the prince's most devoted adherents, who had from motives of caution accompanied him to the royal presence, were apprehensive of the prince's advancing to the foot of the throne, notwithstanding the great weakness of the king, but the king, perceiving their anxiety, reassured the prince, and, when he drew near embraced him and kissed his forehead, and then gave him some useful and profitable advice regarding kingcraft and the mutability of all human concerns. When the king had finished his discourse, the prince took his leave, and sent the king, owing to his great weakness, from the Baghdâd palace to the bath of Haidar Khân. Then Mirzâ Khân and some of the fomenters of strife who were in the prince's company, began to ply him with arguments to the effect that a king is the shadow of God and can, no more than God, endure a partner or a rival, and that any such should, in accordance with God's law, be removed. They succeeded in gaining the prince's consent and the prince proceeded to compass the king's death,²⁹⁴ and made manifest to all the truth of what the astrologers had foretold regarding the prince. Of a truth it becomes not a king to be a parricide, and if he becomes one his reign endures not. The days of the new king's reign had not yet reached one year, when the ill luck consequent on this base action overtook him and handed him over to the gang which had instigated him to this action, so that he was slain, as will soon be described.

The death of the king caused widespread lamentation and mourning. After his death the learned and accomplished men of the court made the necessary arrangements for his enshroudment and funeral and buried him in the garden of Rauzah, among the tombs of his ancestors.

This dreadful calamity happened on Rajab 18, A.H. 996 (June 14, A.D. 1588). Most accounts say that Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh reigned twenty-four years.²⁹⁵

CL.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE CHARACTER OF MURTAẒÂ NIZÂM SHÂH.

Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh excelled all his predecessors in justice, valour, and generosity, the three best characteristics that a king can possess. He was so just that in his reign the whole face of the country was swept clean of tyranny and oppression, that no ruthless hand was laid on the collar of any poor wretch, and the turbulent and violent could not even see the form of injustice in the mirror of their imagination. His generosity was so great that when he found that his treasury was exhausted by his gifts to the poor and worthy, he went into retirement, and shortly after the beginning of his reign he completely emptied the treasury. While Sayyid Shâh Jamâl-ud-din Husain was *vakil* and *ptshvâ* he reported to the king that the whole of the cash in the treasury had been exhausted by his munificent gifts and that

²⁹³ According to Firishta, the prince, on entering his father's presence, treated him with every conceivable indignity and, touching him with the point of his sword, threatened to run him through the body. The king replied that he was sick unto death and would not trouble his son for many days longer, and prayed that his life might be spared. The appeal touched the prince for the moment, and he demeaned himself more humanely—F. ii, 288.

²⁹⁴ Sayyid 'Alî does not give the details of Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh's death. According to Firishta, Husain II, a few days after his interview with his father, had him carried to the bath and caused it to be heated to a much higher temperature than usual. He then had all apertures closed and allowed the king, no water to drink, so that he was suffocated, or rather, baked to death—F. ii, 288.

²⁹⁵ Firishta agrees in the date here given as that of Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh's death, but says that he reigned for twenty-four years and five months. He adds that he was buried temporarily at Rauzah, above Daulatabâd, and that his body was exhumed by his brother, Burhân II, and sent to Karbalâ, where it was buried beside those of his father and grandfather—F. ii, 288.

the turn of the vessels and valuable utensils had now come, and the servants had begun to break them up and distribute the pieces. He, therefore, advised the king that moderation in alms-giving would tend to the good of the country. The king told him to dissuade the poor, if he could, from representing their needs before the throne, for that he could not find it to be in consonance with the principles of generosity to repulse beggars.

One day the topic of the conversation at court was the lofty spirit of kings, and one of the courtiers praised the lofty spirit of the king Ismâ'il Faidar Şafavî, as an instance of which he related the following story: One day a *qalandar* chanced to come before the king in Işfahân, the capital of 'Irâq, and the king promised to fulfil all that he asked. The *qalandar*, emboldened by the king's great bounty, begged three days' kingship of the king. Although this was a request that few would have preferred, the king's word had been passed, and the *qalandar* was permitted, for the space of three days, to reign over all the realm of Persia and its subjects. Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh then said "If he took back the kingdom from him again he acted ignobly, for to take back what had once been given is not the part of a generous man."

They say also that one day when the king was out riding an Arab stopped him and begged of him. He had a piece of cotton cloth tied to a stick and was begging in his own tongue. The king asked what he wanted, and the grasping Arab said "I have come from my own country to this land on hearing the report of your generosity and I wish to fill the purse of my avarice and cupidity from the river of your majesty's generosity." The king asked wherewith, and the Arab said in a low voice "With all necessaries." The king ordered the officers of the treasury to comply with all the Arab's demands and then send an officer with him to his most convenient seaport to put him on board a ship for his own country. Indeed the king was so bountiful that many described his bounty as wastefulness.

Although many wise men and philosophers have pronounced Murtaẓâ, Niẓâm Shâh to be a madman and have attributed his actions to insanity, yet all his other actions and words, and especially the theological and philosophical questions which he asked of the learned men of the court, some of which have been recorded, are evidences of his understanding, acumen, sanity, and well-ordered mind. One of the king's immediate attendants, who was well acquainted with his condition and affairs, has related that in the latter days of life, when he was afflicted with sickness, he repeatedly wrote to the great officers of state ordering them to see that there was no delay in the execution of orders issued by him in the first half of the month, but to hold over any orders issued by him in the second half of the month, as he was not then himself,—but God knows the truth of the matter.²⁹⁶

CII.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE PRINCE'S ACCESSION TO THE THRONE OF HIS FATHER AND GRANDFATHER.

When the *amîrs* and officers of state had finished the obsequies of the late king they enthroned the prince Mirân Husain and admitted all, both small and great, to the hall wherein he was enthroned, and caused favours and rewards to be bestowed on both gentle and simple.

On the third day after the death of Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh, when Husain Niẓâm Shâh had gone to his tent with the *amîrs*, *vazîrs*, and officers of the army for the *khatm*, spies brought news of the approach of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh and his army, which was then encamped

²⁹⁶ Few will agree with the fulsome Sayyid 'Alî that Murtaẓâ's deeds and words were evidence of his understanding, acumen, sanity, and well-ordered mind. They were those of a lunatic, but a parasite, belauds from policy the profusion of a maniac.

at Pâtorî. On hearing this news Ḥusain NiẒām Shâh, taking every precaution, marched towards the 'Âdil Shâhî camp, and leaving Ahmadnagar behind him, halted near the Farah-bakhsh garden to distribute arms to his army and to prepare it for battle.²⁹⁷

When Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh heard that Ḥusain NiẒām Shâh had distributed arms to his army and was marching to meet him he repented of his enterprise and sent a message to Ḥusain NiẒām Shâh saying that as that day was the *khatm* of the late king he had come with all his army to celebrate it at the mosque of Jaichand's village, but that as he had heard that Ḥusain NiẒām Shâh took his coming ill, and had assembled his army and distributed arms to them, he was starting at once on his return journey to his own country. He marched in such haste that he allowed nothing to stop him until he reached Bijâpûr. When the army crossed the Beora, that river was in spate and many elephants and horses, and much property, baggage and camp equipage were swept away.

After Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh had retired without venturing to meet him, Ḥusain NiẒām Shâh seated himself on the throne with full power, and proceeded to devote his time to enjoyment. He confirmed Mîrzâ Khân in the office of *vakîl*, and also conferred on him the office of *imîra' lînî*; or commander-in-chief, which was formerly held by Saif Khân, one of Mîrzâ Khân's friends, and thus added very largely to his power and influence. It had been foretold that the prince Ḥusain NiẒām Shâh would not enjoy his power for long, and he had no taste for the cares and duties of kingship and no ambition for the conquest of kingdoms, and therefore left all public business in the hands of Mîrzâ Khân while he abandoned himself to the circulation of the wine cup, the enjoyment of music and sensual pleasures; indulging in his morning cup and drinking all day long. The kingdom of the Dakan had fallen into his hands without difficulty and without his being called upon to endure any hardship, and he therefore failed to appreciate its value, and contented himself with lewdness and wantonness.

Ismâ'il Khân, when he was vainly endeavouring to raise a party for Murtaẓâ NiẒām Shâh, had summoned all the Foreigners. Mîrzâ Khân now sent Şalâbat Khân back into confinement²⁹⁸ and made Muẓaffar Khân Mâzandarânî commandant of the fortress in which he was confined, and also expelled Ḥabîb Khân from the city and sent him to the seaport.

Most of the Dakanî and African *amîrs*, however, became suspicious of Mîrzâ Khân, owing to his dismissal of Saif Khân, in spite of his former great friendship with him, and conspired to compass his downfall. By means of the female servants of the *haram* they reported to the king that Mîrzâ Khân meditated rebellion, and had privily brought Mîrân Shâh Qâsim

²⁹⁷ Firishta's account of these events is far more probable. Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh II was, in fact, marching on Ahmadnagar to assist in deposing Murtaẓâ NiẒām Shâh II and raising Ḥusain II to the throne. When he reached Pâthardî he heard that Ḥusain had imprisoned his father and ascended the throne. Ibrâhîm sent him his congratulations and proposed to visit him and his wife Khudîjah Sultân, who was Ibrâhîm's sister. Before an answer to this message could be received news arrived that Ḥusain had put his father to death. Ibrâhîm wrote him a bitterly reproachful letter, saying that he had come with the intention of raising him to the throne and in the belief that he would content himself with sending his father to some port where he could spend the rest of his life in religious retirement. If this were not sufficient he himself would have undertaken to keep Murtaẓâ in safe custody, or might even have blinded him; but now that Ḥusain had murdered his father he had no desire to see him and would have nothing to do with him. He threatened him with the divine vengeance and prophesied that he would not reign for long, and having dispatched this letter returned to his own country. F. ii, 114, 115.

²⁹⁸ Şalâbat Khân was now sent to the fortress of Kherla, in Berar, situated in 21° 56' N. and 78° 1' E.

from the fortress of Sinnâr and kept him concealed in his house with a treasonable motive.²⁹⁹ Husain Nizâm Shâh, in spite of his youth, was not misled by the words of these sowers of strife, and kept the engagement into which he had entered with Mirzâ Khân, but set men to watch him, set himself to inquire into the reports which had been made to him, and sent a swift messenger to the fortress of Sinnâr to inquire regarding Mirân Shâh Qâsim. When Mirzâ Khân became aware of the machinations of his enemies, he set himself to establish his innocence and, having approached the king through Yâqût Khân, son of the old Farhâd Khân, who was now in the king's service, he complained that his enemies had slandered him to the king and that their lies had some effect on the king's mind, but that as God was his witness, he was free of all blame.³⁰⁰

Husain Nizâm Shâh, in his good nature and trustfulness, reassured Mirzâ Khân and promised to bestow further favours on him, and when the person who had been sent to make inquiries about Mirân Shâh Qâsim returned and reported that what Mirzâ Khân's detractors had said was a lie, he summoned Mirzâ Khân and bestowed upon him fresh honours and favours. But Mirzâ Khân, in order to remove the reproach that had been cast on him and to silence his slanderers, asked to be allowed to resign the office of *vakîl* and *pîshvâ* and recommended that the duties of the post should be entrusted to a commission consisting of Qâsim Beg, the physician, Sayyid Mir Sharîf Jilânî, and Sayyid Muḥammad Samnânî, and that they should dispose of all civil and revenue matters, in order that he might be delivered from the wiles of his enemies and serve the king with a peaceful mind. Mirzâ Khân's proposal was approved by the king and the three persons mentioned were summoned and appointed to perform the duties of *vakîl* and *pîshvâ*, being invested with robes of honour on the occasion. Although these three persons were, by the royal command, appointed to perform the duties of the office of *vakîl* and *pîshvâ*, yet they did not take up any matter without Mirzâ Khân's consent, and they had not sufficient power or independence to concern themselves in any matter without first consulting him.

Mirzâ Khân employed himself in acquiring popularity among all classes and distributed the king's bounty and favours to all, both gentle and simple, in accordance with their ranks and degrees. Thus he promoted Mir Sayyid Murtaẓâ, the son of Mir Shîrvânî, who had long been intimate with him, to the rank of *amîr*, or rather of *amîr-ul-umardâ*, and bestowed on him in *jâgîr* the province of Bir, which is the most fertile and populous of all the provinces of the Dakan. He raised Mirzâ Muḥammad Sâlih, entitled Khânkhânân, above his fellows, by promoting him to the rank of an *amîr*, and by giving to him the appointment of *Sar-i-sar-i-naubat* of the right wing. He also released Jamshîd Khân, who had been imprisoned since the defeat of Sayyid Murtaẓâ Sabzavârî and made him one of the chief *amîrs*. Sayyid Hasan, the writer's brother, received the appointment of *Sar-i-naubat*. He conferred on Farhâd Khân the African, who had been imprisoned and again released, the same rank and the same districts as he had before. He raised Bahâdur Khân Gilânî also to the rank of *amîr*, and made Amin-ul-Mulk, who had long held that rank and office under Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh, a *vazîr*.

²⁹⁹ Qâsim was a younger brother of Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh I and uncle of Husain II. He had been imprisoned in the fortress of Sinnâr, in 19° 50' N. and 74° E. F. ii, 289.

³⁰⁰ According to Firishta Husain II imprisoned Mirzâ Khân on suspicion, but released him and restored him to favour on being convinced of his innocence. The fate of the prince, Mirân Qâsim, is not mentioned by Sayyid 'Alî. Firishta says that Mirzâ Khân, in order to remove, once for all, any ground for the suspicion that he wished to raise him to the throne, proposed to Husain II that he should be put to death. The king assented and Qâsim and his sons, and apparently some of his brothers, whose names have not been recorded, were murdered at Sinnâr.

Mirzâ Khân thus administered the affairs of the kingdom unexceptionally and shewed great generosity to all. The king also having regard to the friendships of early days, promoted some of his immediate and favourite courtiers, such as Akbar Khân and Yâqût Khân, who were well known as the king's most intimate associates, to the rank of *amîr*, and thus raised them from the lowest to the highest rank. The king passed all his time in the pursuit of pleasure in company with these men, indulging in the satisfaction of his youthful passions and in drinking from morning to evening and from evening to morning. He would spend the nights in the bazars in company with the lowest, and in his presence nobody was more honoured than this vile gang.

Thus Mirzâ Khân and all the rest of the Foreigners, through envying Ankas Khân's and 'Ambar Khân's access to the king, stirred them up to act against this gang, and the gang,³⁰¹ owing to the deeply implanted hatred which existed between them and the Foreigners, were ever plotting to bring about their downfall, and slandering them to the king, and the quarrel between these two factions led to such ill results that it may be said to have ruined a world, brought a whole people to execution or slaughter, and plunged a world into grief, distraction, and destruction, as will be seen.

CIII.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE TREACHERY OF MIRZÂ Khân, WHICH LED TO THE MURDER OF HUSAIN NIZÂM SHÂH, A GENERAL MASSACRE OF ALL THE FOREIGNERS, AND THE DOMINATION OF JAMÎL Khân, AND THE REBELLIOUS SECT OF THE MAHDAVIS.

As God had willed that Husain Nizâm Shâh should fall, so the king's devotion to debauchery and lascivious pleasures, his neglect of his duties as king, and his passion for low company, estranged from him the hearts of the people, and as it had been decreed by fate that the conquering Şâhib Qirân³⁰² should reign over the kingdom of Hindûstân and cast the shadow of his justice and clemency on the heads of the afflicted people of the Dakan, the power necessarily departed from Husain Nizâm Shâh, and since God had removed the glance of His kindness and compassion from the Sayyids, *Maulavis*, and the people of Ahmadnagar, he left them to their evil devices until they ventured on rebellion and earned by their ill deeds severe punishment.

When the quarrel between Mirzâ Khân and Ankas Khân increased in intensity, Mirzâ Khân proposed to the Khânkhânân, who was one of his intimates, that he should cultivate the friendship of Ankas Khân, invite him to a banquet at his house and try to ruin his honour, in order that he might fall from the royal favour. The foolish Khânkhânân acted on the suggestion of Mirzâ Khân, made friends with Ankas Khân, invited him one night to a feast at his house, and spent the night with him in pleasure. The next day Mirzâ Khân reported to Husain Nizâm Shâh something of what had passed the night before at the Khânkhânân's house, using enigmatical language. Husain Nizâm Shâh, much surprised, asked the Khânkhânân what the truth of the matter was. The foolish Khânkhânân preserved a silence which was equivalent to many corroborations, and the king, becoming angry, turned from them to Ankas Khân and began to reproach him. How much soever Ankas Khân tried to prove the falsehood of Mirzâ Khân's words, in order to free himself from the imputation which had been cast upon him, he failed to convince the king, and after this quarrel a bitter enmity sprang up between Mirzâ Khân and Ankas Khân and all the Foreigners,³⁰³ and Mirzâ Khân and Ankas Khân began to seek to compass each other's downfall. Husain Nizâm Shâh, having regard to Ankas Khân's former services and to the love which he had borne him, preferred him before Mirzâ Khân and began to consider how he could bring about Mirzâ Khân's downfall. Ankas Khân

³⁰¹ The gang consisted of the young king's low companions from the bazars, who were Dakanis.

³⁰² Burhân Nizâm II.

³⁰³ The author's meaning is obscure here. He intends to say that Mirzâ Khân was at the head of the Foreign, and Ankas Khân at that of the Dakanî, party.

bethought himself of a plan and unfolded it to the king. He proposed that he should give a banquet which the king should honour with his presence, and that a trusty band of armed men should be concealed and should spring out at a given signal and seize Mirzā Khān, and thus put an end to his turbulence. On Wednesday, Jamādī-ul-Awwal 12 (March 18, A.D. 1589), Husain NiẒām Shāh honoured Ankas Khān by attending a banquet given at his house, and the Khānkhānān, Jamshīd Khān, Sayyid Murtaẓā and all the principal *amīrs* and officers were there also. As Mirzā Khān was approaching the house he learnt of the arrangement which had been made, and on the pretext of pains in the stomach returned home and contrived to warn the Khānkhānān and Sayyid Murtaẓā of what was intended. Sayyid Murtaẓā took *ma'jūn* and feigned sickness,³⁰⁴ lay down and uttered naught but sighs and groans. The Khānkhānān attacked Ankas Khān with bitter words and took Sayyid Murtaẓā away from the assembly. When they reached the neighbourhood of the fort they sent for Mirzā Khān and then they sent a messenger to Husain NiẒām Shāh saying that Sayyid Murtaẓā was very sick and that a bath would do him more good than physic. They asked permission to take him to the bath in the fort, as he might perhaps get better there, and recover from his sickness. The good natured prince gave these traitors leave to come into the fort and to the bath, and appointed Ankas Khān to look after them, in order that they might be at ease.

Mirzā Khān and the Khānkhānān took Sayyid Murtaẓā into the fort and placed a guard of their own trusty men over the gate of the fort, and when Husain NiẒām Shāh returned from Ankas Khān's house they waited on him and told him that Sayyid Murtaẓā was only just breathing, but that if he would deign to visit the sick man it was possible that he might obtain fresh life. The simple minded king, ignorant of his enemies' guile and trusting to their word, entered the fort. They had previously ordered their own men, whom they had set over the gate, to admit none but the king and a very few of his immediate attendants, so that when once the king had entered the fort unguarded, he was completely in the hands of his enemies. When Mirzā Khān had thus by stratagem brought the king into the fort he showed his hand. He took the king to the top of the Baghdād palace and placed him in a solitary corner to repent of his trusting folly, with a guard over him. He then summoned Jamshīd Khān, Amīn-ul-Mulk, and all the chief men among the Foreigners, and after some consultation, sent Muṣṭafā Khān, Amīn-ul-Mulk, Shāh Ibrāhīm and Shāh Ismā'il to Lohogarh.³⁰⁵ Muṣṭafā Khān hastened with the speed of the wind to the fortress where the two princes were confined, released them from the charge of the eunuchs, and on the fourth day brought the two young princes secretly into the fort of Ahmadnagar, bringing them over the wall at midnight in order that none might know of their arrival. After consultation and recourse to the *sortes Koranicae*, the lot fell on Ismā'il Shāh, and the next day, Monday, the 16th of the month already mentioned (April 1, A.D. 1589),³⁰⁶ in spite of the moon's being in Scorpio, preparations were made for his enthronement with the usual ceremonies of presentation of robes of honour to the *amīrs* and officers of state, etc. The Sayyids, the *Qāzīs* and the learned men of the court were summoned, but since Mirzā Khān had brought the king into the fort, which was now some days ago, nobody knew what had happened to him, and

³⁰⁴ Firishṭa says (ii, 290) that it was not Sayyid Murtaẓā, but his father, Āqā Mīr Shīrvānī, who feigned sickness. *Ma'jūn* was an electuary, largely composed of opium.

³⁰⁵ The author is obscure here. The Foreigners had decided to depose Husain II and it was necessary to find a successor. Qāsim and other members of the royal family had been murdered at Sinnār, and Burhān, the other uncle of Husain, had fled to the court of Akbar, but had left behind him, in the fort of Lohogarh, two young sons, Ibrāhīm and Ismā'il, who seem to have been the only males of the royal family, besides the king, remaining in the kingdom.—F. ii, 290, 294.

³⁰⁶ According to Firishṭa, who agrees in the date here given, the question was not decided by sortilege. Ibrāhīm was the elder of the two princes, but his mother was a negress, and he was dark and ill-favoured. The choice therefore fell on Ismā'il, aged twelve, whose mother was a fair-skinned lady of the Kōnkan.—F. ii, 294.

most of the *amîrs* of the Dakan were very perturbed, and disturbances began. One Jamâl³⁰⁷ was the first to start the outbreak, and on this day on which the younger prince was to be enthroned, Jamâl Khân went with a number of *Havâldârs* and petty officers who were under the command of Sayyid Hasan, the brother of Jamshid Khân, and were quartered in, the villago of Humâyûnpûr, to Sayyid Hasan, related to him the story of Mirzâ Khân's opposition to the king and instigated him to return. Jamâl Khân, in order to set his mind at rest, told him that he would in no way injure the king. Hasan therefore, though not willingly, returned to the city with the army of the Dakan, and when they reached the door of the fort, Jamâl Khân left a detachment with Sayyid Hasan in the gate of the fortress and handed over command of the corps of Bâ'in Khân,³⁰⁸ which was encamped before the fortress, to Azhdahâ Khân who was formerly one of his partisans, and sent it to the Daulatâbâd gate, while he, with a small force, went to the *Kâlâ Chabûtra*, whence he kept up continual communication with the Dakanis and Africans of the city, where he busied himself in enlisting them on his side and against Mirzâ Khân. All, both weak and strong, gathered around Jamâl Khân, and the place was soon in an uproar, and he by his display of loyalty greatly increased the estimation in which he was held by the people. Sayyid Hasan by his brother's order entered into an agreement with the *amîrs* and officers of the army and they all went together to the fort of Ahmadnagar. It is said that on this day Jamshid Khân³⁰⁹ meditating treachery against Husain Nizâm Shâh, entered into an agreement with the *amîrs* and chief officers in the army who were of the king's party to the effect that they should be faithful to him (the king) and also went to the fort in order that he might frustrate the treasonable design of Mirzâ Khân and, with them, set the king free, in order that by his display of loyalty they might gain advancement. In any case a large number of all classes gathered round Jamâl Khân, and he, assuring them that they would gain promotion and advancement, marched with them against the fort, and sent a messenger to Mirzâ Khân to say that it was some days since he had taken the king into the fort and denied to all access to him, so that none knew how he fared, and to demand that he should either free the king at once or admit Jamâl Khân and his men to see him, in order that strife and disturbance might cease. Mirzâ Khân, in his pride, treated Jamâl Khân's message with contempt and told him to wait for a moment in order that he might be honoured by being admitted to pay his respects to his king (i.e., prince Ismâ'il). When Jamâl Khân heard this improper answer, which was intended to allay by mere words the turbulent desires of the hearts of himself and his followers, he determined to take action and the matter passed from speech to open strife. As the fort then contained but a small garrison, Mirzâ Khân, becoming alarmed, sent Lashkar Khân and Kishvar Khân out to allay the strife.³¹⁰ Jamâl Khân valued these men not a boddle and slew Kishvar Khân, while Lashkar Khân was wounded and escaped back into the fort with much difficulty. Mirzâ Khân and the other Foreigners who were in the citadel were now much perturbed, barricaded the gates of the fort and prepared for war, and to defend the fort. When Mirzâ Khân saw that the whole city was in a ferment he became much alarmed and sent Jamshid Khân to Jamâl Khân to arrange

307 Jamâl Khân was a *muwallad*, i.e., the son of an African by a woman of the Dakan. He belonged, therefore, to the party of the Dakanis and Africans.

308 Bâ'in Khân.—F. ii, 292.

309 Jamshid Khân appears to have acted throughout in the interests of Ismâ'il. He belonged to the Foreign party.

310 Firishhta says that Mirzâ Khân, having foolishly delayed the suppression of Jamâl Khân's rising until the latter had a force of 25,000 horse, now sent out against him his nephew, Kishwardad Bâg, and Kishvar Khân with a force of 150 sons of Foreigners, seven Foreigners, seven Daulatâbâd, and an elephant. This small force was defeated, and only ten or fifteen wounded men escaped back into the fort.—F. ii, 291.

terms of peace. Jamâl Khân at once put Jamshîd Khân and Sayyid Hasan, who had only just again sworn fidelity to him, into irons, and threw them on to the back of an elephant. He gave the magistracy of the city to Bulbul Khân, the African, and sent him into the city with others to kill 'Inâyat Khân, the existing governor. Bulbul Khân then went into the bazar and collected a number of the rabble, who supported him, and by the aid of whom he seized 'Inâyat Khân and put him to death. His head was placed on a spear and was carried about through the city and the bazars. When the garrison of the fort saw the head of 'Inâyat Khân, the *thânadâr*, on a spear being paraded through the city, they gave up hope of life and hope of flight and freedom, and in their perplexity brought prince Ismâ'il Khân on to one of the bastions of the fortress and raised the royal umbrella over his head, and even though they proclaimed him by the royal style and title, the Dakanis continued to shoot arrows and sling stones against the fortress and against the young prince, who was wounded. At this time, as Mirzâ Khân had already, in the hardness of his heart, blinded Husain Nizâm Shâh³¹¹ and outraged his honour, he considered that if he beheaded the king and threw his head down among the army, they would desist from the attack and acquiesce in accepting Ismâ'il as their king. The wretch never considered that he who imbrues his hands in the blood of the king, and causes their death causes infinite strife and copious bloodshed and draws down upon himself the wrath of God.

It is said that Amin-ul-Mulk was the instigator of this disgraceful crime and iniquity, and that the son of Zû'l-fiqâr Khân was its perpetrator, but God knows the truth.³¹² In any case these cruel and vile men, regardless of the disgrace and calamity which would follow the crime, dared to kill the king and, severing his crowned head from his body with a dagger, placed it on a spear and brought it to a bastion of the fortress, whence they threw it down among the army.³¹³ The martyred king had barely time to look the attainment of his desires in the face, when he was pierced, like the rose with the thorn of disappointment, and the bird of his desire had barely spread his wings when he flew from the threshold of life to the nest of nonentity. As this young prince had been accessory to the death of his father and had, at the instigation of traitors, issued orders for the shedding of his blood, fate, in obedience to the decree of the Almighty avenger brought speedy punishment to him--as the poet says: "The kingdom becomes not a paricide, and if he succeeds his reign lasts but six months."

When the army saw the head of their king, they uttered a loud and bitter cry, and a world was thrown into mourning, so that all mankind were afflicted with grief. The army then arose and attacked the fortress. It was as though the gates and walls bore down, with their weight, on the bewildered gang within, and as though fate and time themselves declared war against them. The ill-fortune following on treason infused fear and dread into the hearts of Mirzâ Khân and his gang and deprived them of strength, so that none was able to stretch forth his hands to battle, nor to keep his foot firmly planted in its place. From the first watch of the day until the evening the battle raged. Jamâl Khân, who had first set the fight going, was approved and followed by all and promoted his followers, giving to them the lands and titles of the *amîrs* who had followed Mirzâ Khân. The *amîrs* who were

³¹¹ Firishta does not mention the blinding of Husain II.

³¹² Firishta says that it was Ismâ'il Khân, son of the Foreigner, Zû'l-fiqâr Khân, who ordered the decapitation of Husain II.—F. ii, 291.

³¹³ According to Firishta, the head was only thrown down when Mirzâ Khân learnt that Jamâl Khân was trying to persuade the people that the head exhibited on the bastion was not that of Husain II.—F. ii, 292.

in the fort had left their forces without, and had alone rebelled against the king in the fort, and these forces now joined the new *amîrs* who had been appointed to command them, and fought beside them.

As the blood of the murdered king cried out for vengeance against his murderers, the army of the Dakan, which surrounded the fort like a raging sea, all attacked the fortress at once, and swarmed over the walls like ants and locusts. One body forced the Daulatâbâd gate and poured into the fort, and another body set fire to the gate which faces the city and rendered resistance by the defenders impossible. When the defenders, who were but a small gang, saw fire and disaster threatening their lives on every side, and found the way of escape blocked whithersoever they turned, they ran confusedly and crept into holes and corners, crying, 'Here, here, is a refuge.' A number of Sayyids, *Qâzîs*, and learned men who had not consented to the treason that had been committed and who had forebly and against their will been brought into the fort by Mîrzâ Khân, such as Qâsim Beg, Mîr Sharif, Mîrzâ Muḥammad Taqî, Mîrzâ Şâdiq, Mîr 'Izz-ud-dîn Astarâbâdî, Maulânâ Najm-ud-dîn Shûstari, Qâzî Nûr-ud-dîn Isfahânî, Mîr Muḥammad Ḥasan Tabâtâbâ'î, and Mîr Ḥusain Gilânî crept into holes and hid themselves from the sight of the violent and bloody men. The others, such as Mîrzâ Khân, the Khânkhânân, Jamshîd Khân with his son and brother, Amîn-ul-Mulk with his two sons, Sayyid Murtazâ Shîrvânî, Bahâdur Khân Gilânî, Bâi Khân, Sayyid Muḥammad Samnânî with his brother, and a number of other men famous for their bravery who were not entirely enfeebled by fear, made some efforts in one direction or other, but as the army was pressing upon them both within and without, this wretched gang, though they sought in every direction for a way of escape, found none. They therefore made a stand in an open space between the two gates and opposed the troops as they came from the direction of each. The force which had entered by the Daulatâbâd gate ran hither and thither, plundering and slaying all whom they met, so that the broker of death was selling at one price the old man of 80 and the boy of 8, while the fire of their wrath burnt up young and old, rich and poor, alike.

Mîrzâ Muḥammad Taqî, Mîrzâ Şâdiq, Mîr 'Izz-ud-dîn, Maulânâ Najm-ud-dîn, Qâzî Nûr-ud-dîn, and Mîr Muḥammad Ḥusain, each of whom was among the most learned and accomplished men of the age, were all slain by the sword on that night. When about seven hours of that night had passed and the fire which had been lighted at the gate of the fort was somewhat abated, the band which from fear of their enemies had taken up their stand between the two gates, ignorant of the consequences of drawing the sword of strife from the scabbard and of urging the charger on into the field, and of the bragging tongue of sword and spearhead, gave vent to their feelings and emotions and raised loud cries. Mîrzâ Khân then asked Bahâdur Khân Gilânî what plan could be devised for an escape, and who might be expected to help them in the extremity of their peril. Bahâdur Khân, who was one of the most eloquent of men, answered in poetry to the effect that there was nothing for it but to fight to the end, and at length all of them agreed to make a determined dash for the gate, trusting in God and treading the fire like Ibrâhîm the Friend. They then threw themselves on their enemies to fight valiantly for honour and a good name, and to lose, with good name and honour, their heads, or to escape from that whirlpool of destruction and to bring the back of their hopes safely to shore. This gang, therefore, mounted their horses and charged out through the burning gate, attacking the army, which with its elephants was drawn up like Alexander's barrier along the edge of the ditch. Some of them, such as Bâi Khân, Sayyid Murtazâ and others, were slain at once, and the dust of the battlefield was soon around, while others managed to break through their enemies and to free themselves by a hurried sally from their immediate danger, but of these some such as Amîn-ul-Mulk and the *Qâzîs*, and others and Muḥammad Samnânî and *Amîn-ul-Mulk* were slain and others

by the rabble of the city and the suburbs. Bahâdur Khân and some others, whom fate was less rapid in overtaking, escaped from their dreadful position, crept away into hiding places and, a few days later, managed to escape to a place of refuge. Mirzâ Khân, although he escaped from the slaughter on the battlefield, could flee no further than a village in the environs of the city, where, as the reward of his treason, his horse was stopped by the wall of fate, and he fell into the hands of the villagers.³¹⁴

When Jamâl Khân with the Dakanis and Africans had thus overcome the Foreigners and had taken the fort by storm, they seated Ismâ'il Shâh on the royal throne and issued an order for a general massacre of the Foreigners. The blood-thirsty soldiery and cruel brigands slew and plundered in all directions, and the Foreigners were overwhelmed in the general destruction, so that their blood ran in rivers through the streets of the city.³¹⁵

In those evil days the custom of general massacres and of general plunderings became so rife in the city and kingdom of Ahmadnagar that it was as though peace and security had fled from the world, while those who had formerly held their heads as high as the heavens in their pride were humbled to the dust, and chaste virgins, who had never shewn their faces to the sun or to the moon, were dragged by the hair of the head into the bazar among drunken men. Buildings which stood erect to heaven now bowed their heads as those ashamed, and the palaces, buildings and gardens of the Foreigners were destroyed.

When Jamâl Khân had carried out his great design and had completely and easily overthrown and extinguished that powerful party and destroyed the life of a world of persons, and had imprisoned Jamshîd Khân and his brothers and son, who had been captured, he arranged the funeral obsequies of Husain Nizâm Shâh,³¹⁶ and when he had finished these he seated Ismâ'il Nizâm Shâh on the throne of his ancestors and opened a royal court for the administration of justice. He gave out the *jâgirs* of all the Foreigners to the Africans and Dakanis, but especially to the *Mahdavis*, and increased the allowances and grants of all, both gentle and simple, so that the people, who are ever the slaves of favour, readily yielded obedience to him.

In the meantime Farhâd Khân, the African, who was in Chitâpûr, had heard of the death of Husain Nizâm Shâh and the accession of Ismâ'il Nizâm Shâh, and hastened to court to pay his respects to the new king. When he heard of the general massacre of the Foreigners, he bargained with Jamâl Khân for the lives of the remnant which remained, and as all the Africans supported Farhâd Khân and Jamâl Khân's position was yet insecure, Jamâl Khân was compelled to agree to Farhâd Khân's proposals and to forgo the slaughter of the remnant of the Foreigners.

314 Firishita's account of the capture of the fort is as follows :—While the Dakanis and Africans under Jamâl Khân and Yâqût Khân were surrounding the fort, a hundred oxen laden with dried cowdung and millet stalks for sale passed. Jamâl Khân had their loads piled against the gate of the fort and lighted. Towards evening the gate was destroyed, but none could pass over the hot ashes for some time. At length Mirzâ Khân and his followers, Bâ'ini Khân, Amin-ul-Mulk Nishâbûrî, the Khânkhânân, Sayyid Muhammad Samnânî, Bahâdur Khân Gilânî, Nûr Tâhir Alâvî, Aqâ Mir Shîrvânî, Shahbâz Khân Dakanî, and Ismâ'il Khân the Kurd, drawing their swords, spurred their horses over the hot ashes and cut their way through the besiegers. Some were slain in the streets of the city and some in the suburbs—Mirzâ Khân himself fled towards Junnâr and could not be found for some days, but was eventually captured and put to death.—F. ii, 292.

315 Firishita says that on the night on which the fort was captured about 300 Foreigners were slain, among them being Mirzâ Muhammad Taqî Nazîrî, Mirzâ Şâdiq Urdûbâdî, Mir 'Izz-ud-dîn Astarâbâdî, and Mullâ Najm-ud-dîn Shûshtarî. Only four escaped, Qasim Beg, Sayyid Sharîf Gilânî, I'timâd Khân Shûshtarî, and Khvâja 'Abd-us-Salâm Tûnî. On the following day the slaughter of the Foreigners began again and lasted for seven days, about a thousand being slain in all.—F. ii, 292, 293.

316 Husain Nizâm Shâh II was buried at Rauzah.—F. ii, 293.

destroying the lives of both, the evil and the good, both bond and free, and overthrowing them. A succession of calamities destroyed the peaceful country of this party and threw it into such confusion as reigns in the country of an unjust king, so that peace and prosperity disappeared from the earth and from the age and were succeeded by oppression and rebellion.

When fate took pity on the ruined remnant, and the intercession of Farhâd Khân, like the prayer of 'Isâ, revived them, some who had the strength and means to travel were dispersed among the various cities and countries, while a small body, hungry and naked, cast down from their former place by weakness and inanition, gathered together in the eunuchs' quarters and ever prayed to God for the arrival of His Majesty the Sâhib Qirân,³²⁰ the protector of Foreigners.

The rebellion having been thus suppressed, Jamâl Khân hastened to the house of Farhâd Khân and endeavoured to induce him to enter into an agreement with a view to their holding the office of *vakîl* and *pîshvâ* jointly, but Farhâd Khân would not accept this proposal and said that Qâsim Beg was the man for the office and that they ought to free him from prison and entrust the administration of the kingdom to him. When Jamâl Khân saw that Farhâd Khân would not co-operate with him in the office of *vakîl* and was convinced that he himself could not possibly become *vakîl* without the co-operation and consent of Farhâd Khân, he applauded Farhâd Khân's resolution, and it was decided that they should both go to court together the next day and give effect to whatever arrangement was best for the kingdom. But when Jamâl Khân left Farhâd Khân's house he resolved to imprison him.

The next day Jamâl Khân brought a body of his troops armed into the fort and stationed a company over the gate with orders to prevent any of Farhâd's men from entering the fort with him.

Early in the morning Farhâd Khân, as had been agreed, set out for the fort, and when he entered the fort he had no more than a few men with him, and as soon as he had made his obeisance to Ismâ'il Nizâm Shâh, Jamâl Khân placed a guard over him and led the young king forth from the fort in royal state. Without the fort were the troops of Farhâd Khân, who were ignorant of what had befallen their leader. They were honoured by being permitted to pay their homage, and some of them received posts in the royal service, while others were promised higher rank and better pay, so that all were drawn by interest towards Jamâl Khân.

This faithless gang now forgot all that they owed to Farhâd Khân and went over to Jamâl Khân and entered his service.

When Jamâl Khân had led the young king through the streets and bazars for some time and had given the populace the opportunity of paying their homage to him, he took him back to the fort and again seated him on the throne. He then made Farhâd Khân over to a trusty body of his own troops and sent him to the fortress of Râjûri.³²¹

To fill Farhâd Khân's place Jamâl Khân selected Yâqût, who had belonged to Maulânâ 'Inâyatullâh and was distinguished no less by valour and courage than by goodness of disposition and beauty of person, and raised him to the rank of *amîr* and to the command of the army, conferring on him the title of Khudâvand Khân. In order to strengthen the friendship between himself and Khudâvand Khân he betrothed his daughter to the son of Khudâvand Khân and gave a banquet on the occasion which was honoured by the young king's presence, continuing the festivities for several days and extending his hospitality to all, both gentle and simple. He also promoted some of the Dakanîs and Africans to the rank of *amîrs* and officers, by this means ingratiating himself with them and ensuring the tenure of all power in the state by these two classes.

³²⁰ Burhân Nizâm Shâh II.

³²¹ Perhaps Rahûri, in 19° 24' N. and 74° 40' E.

Among the *amîrs* who were promoted by Jamâl Khân above their fellows was, in the first place, Shâh Abû Turâb, the maternal uncle of the young king; then Amjad-ul-Mulk, the *Mahdavis*, who was made *amîr-ul-umará* of Berar. Then came Khân Malik, who was appointed *sar-i-naubat*, then Nizâm Khân Nishâbûrî, Sono Khân, Kâmil Khân and others, who were promoted to be *amîrs* and officers. Likewise Miyân Amînullah Burhânpûrî, who had formerly been in the service of Khudâvand Khân of Berar and had been his lieutenant in his civil governorship, received the title of Amîn Khân, the rank of *vazîr*, and a governorship, and I'timâd Khân, the brother of Khattât Khân Daulatâbâdî, received the appointment of *Sar-i-Khail* and the other *Mahdavis*, likewise the friends and assistants of Jamâl Khân were appointed to appointments suited to their abilities and to rank suitable to their positions.

CIV.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE RELEASE OF ŞALÂBAT KHÂN FROM THE FORTRESS OF KHERLA BY MUHAMMAD KHÂN, THE *Amîr-ul-Umarâ* OF BERAR, AND OF THE GATHERING TOGETHER OF THE *Amîrs* UNDER HIM AGAINST JÂMÂL KHÂN.

A.D. 1589. At the time when Jamâl Khân was stirring up all this strife in Ahmadnagar, Muhammad Khân, *sar-i-naubat*, was *amîr-ul-umará* of Berar and every Foreigner who could escape from the city found a refuge in Berar, until Muhammad Khân had assembled a large army. As he was apprehensive of Jamâl Khân, and some of those in the capital had sought help from the *amîrs* of Berar against Jamâl Khân, some of the *amîrs*, such as Bahrî Khân, Ikhlas Khân 'Aziz-ul-Mulk and others, assembled to take counsel together. They decided to set Şalâbat Khân free and to make him their ruler, and then to employ themselves in overthrowing Jamâl Khân and the *Mahdavis*. They therefore sent a messenger to Sayyid Muza'ffar Khân Mâzandarânî, governor of the fort of Kherla, telling him of what had passed among them. Muza'ffar Khân approved of the policy of the *amîrs* and released Şalâbat Khân from imprisonment and sent him to the *amîrs*. The *amîrs* received Şalâbat Khân with great honour and professed obedience to him. They then collected their troops and marched towards Ahmadnagar. On their way thither Bahâdur Khân Gilânî and other Foreigners of the court, who had escaped from Ahmadnagar at the time of the fighting, met them, and attached themselves to Şalâbat Khân's army.

When the news of Şalâbat Khân's release from Kherla, of the confederacy of the *amîrs* and of their march towards the capital reached the misguided Jamâl Khân, he, inasmuch as his power was not yet firmly established, and he could not trust the royal army, became disturbed and apprehensive, and began to spend money freely, bestowing largesse on both poor and rich and making them all wealthy, until he was able to assemble a large army. He then sent forward the young king's *pîshkhâna* towards Berar, and taking the young king with him, set out with his army in the same direction.

Jamâl Khân reached the town of Shivgaon³²² and encamped before it with the prince, and hence were issued letters to the *amîrs* who were with Şalâbat Khân, promising them not only forgiveness but also promotion in the royal service if they would leave Şalâbat Khân.

When Şalâbat Khân reached the town of Paithan, a number of the *amîrs*, such as Ikhlas Khân, 'Aziz-ul-Mulk and others, owing to relationships which are the cause of mutual attraction, disgraced themselves by violating their agreement, and fled from Şalâbat Khân's camp at midnight. Şalâbat Khân sent Bahâdur Khân with a number of Foreigners in pursuit of the fugitives, and Bahâdur Khân came up with them and captured and turned back 'Aziz-ul-Mulk and his brothers, but Şalâbat Khân, dreading the effects of the wiles of the Africans and Dakanîs and the strife which they had occasioned in his camp, considered it

inadvisable to meet Jamāl Khān in the field, and without making any attempt to gain honour in battle, began to retreat towards Berar. The rest of Ṣalābat Khān's army, who had placed confidence in the promises made by Jamāl Khān, now left Ṣalābat Khān and hastened to join Jamāl Khān.

When Jamāl Khān heard of the retreat of Ṣalābat Khān, he marched from Shivgāon and encamped before Paithān, and sent a body of Kolis to pursue Ṣalābat Khān and Muḥammad Khān. This body of Kolis hastened in pursuit of Ṣalābat Khān, Bahri Khān, Muḥammad Khān, and the other Foreigners who had not dared to face Jamāl Khān and took from them their horses and elephants, while the inhabitants of the province of Berar also rose against them and reduced them to great straits. With great difficulty, and after suffering many hardships, they contrived to reach the frontier of Burhānpūr, where they were safe from Jamāl Khān. Rāja 'Alī Khān, the ruler of Burhānpūr, sent safe conducts for Ṣalābat Khān, Muḥammad Khān, and Bahri Khān, and also sent fodder for their animals and assigned to each a dwelling in Burhānpūr, shewing them much courtesy and kindness.

In the course of this quarrel between Ṣalābat Khān and Jamāl Khān, Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II had marched into the Nizām Shāhī kingdom with a great army. Jamāl Khān, therefore, as soon as he was free from anxiety regarding Ṣalābat Khān, marched from Paithān with his army against the 'Adil Shāhī army, and when the two armies came within striking distance of one another,³²³ they remained for a long time facing one another without venturing into the field. Jamāl Khān, who was not strong enough to withstand Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh, opened negotiations for peace and strove to keep himself clear of any appeal to arms, and as the 'Adil Shāhī army was stronger than Ismā'il Nizām Shāh's army, they, rendered arrogant by their superiority, demanded the cession of Parenda and other forts as the price of peace. At length Nūr Khān went from Jamāl Khān's army into the 'Adil Shāhī camp and did his utmost to extinguish the fire of strife, offering a large sum as *na'ī bahā* ³²⁴ on condition that the 'Adil Shāhī army returned to its own country. Jamāl Khān sent the promised sum and the 'Adil Shāhī army retreated to Bijāpūr.

When the army had returned to Ahmadnagar, Jamāl Khān, who had been made suspicious of the remnant of the Foreigners by the revolt of Ṣalābat Khān, first considered plans for the massacre of them, and afterwards, moved by the intercession of Khudāvand Khān, gave them their lives, but banished them from the country and appointed a body of men to collect all Foreigners from their hiding places into one place. He then sent some to Bijāpūr,³²⁵ some to Golconda, and some to Chaul and other ports, but would give permission to none to go to Mālwa to pay his respects to the Ṣāhib Qirān.

Of the great men and officers among the Foreigners, Shāh Rafī'ud-dīn Husain, Shāh Haidar, Qāsim Beg, Mīr Sharīf Gilānī, Sayyid Muḥammad Samanānī and Mīrzā Muqīm Rizavī were sent to Mecca. Jamāl Khān then took his seat on the *masnad* of the *vakil*, nay, rather on the throne of the kingdom, with none to oppose or gainsay him, and bestowed much honour on the *Mahdavi* sect, the heretical belief of which is that

³²³ At Āshtī. F. ii, 295.

³²⁴ The amount of *na'ī bahā* fixed was 70,000 (F. ii, 295) or 75,000 (F. ii, 116) *hans*. Another condition of the treaty was that Khadijah Sulṭān, widow of Husain Nizām Shāh II and sister of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II, should be sent back to Bijāpūr.

³²⁵ It was now, Dec. 28, 1589, that the historian Muḥammad Qāsim Firishṭa fled from Ahmadnagar to Bijāpūr, where he entered the service of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II.

Sayyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr was the promised Mahdī.³²⁶ He promoted several of these heretics to the ranks of *amirs* and *vazirs*, and placed every member of the sect above the reach of want.

In the meantime news reached the wretch Jamāl that the Sāhib Qirān had crossed the frontier of Mālwa with a very large army, and was marching on his capital.³²⁷

Immediately after hearing this news Jamāl Khān received a royal *farmān* addressed to him, promising him a continuance and an increase of the favours which he enjoyed, and inviting him to appear at the royal camp to do homage. But the wretched Jamāl Khān was deaf and blind to what was to his own interest and to the interest of the people at large, and he not only refused to go to the royal camp, but raised the standard of rebellion, and from his mistaken view regarding the prince (Ismā'il Nizām Shāh), refused to be guided into the way of obedience until his disobedience overwhelmed him and many others, his friends, in ruin.

When the wicked Jamāl Khān heard of the intention of Burhān Nizām Shāh to march to his capital, he sent several of the greatest *amirs* into the province of Berar, and with them a strong army to defend that province. He appointed Amjad-ul-Mulk, the *Mahdavi*, the greatest recipient of his trust and confidence, *Amir-ul-umara* of that province, and bade him exercise the utmost caution, telling him that if Ṣalābat Khān should go to make his obeisance to Burhān Nizām Shāh or should go to Akbar's court, it was possible that the allegiance of the *amirs* of Ahmadnagar would be much shaken, and that he should therefore send to Ṣalābat Khān a promise of safety, fortified by bonds and agreements, and a promise of increase of favour and dignity from Ismā'il Nizām Shāh. He also wrote to Rāja 'Alī Khān, the ruler of Burhānpūr, requesting him to urge Ṣalābat Khān to return to Ahmadnagar.

In the meantime the *farmān* of Burhān Nizām Shāh summoning Ṣalābat Khān reached him from Hindiya. As it was not Ṣalābat Khān's good fortune to be guided into the way that would have been best for him in the end, and as it was not given to him to

³²⁶ Early in the tenth century of the *Hijrah* era Sayyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr claimed to be the promised Mahdī. He died in A.H. 910 (A.D. 1504-05) while returning from a pilgrimage to Mecca, but not before he had gained many adherents, including Maḥmūd I of Gujarat. The movement was continued by Shaikh 'Alā'i of Biyāna who, in the reign of Islām Shāh Sūr of Dillī (1545-1557), travelled to Hindiya for the purpose of propagating his doctrine in the Dakan and gained many converts. Thence the doctrines spread to Ahmadnagar. Firishṭa is mistaken in saying that Sayyid Muḥammad died in A.D. 1553 to be the Mahdī. The followers of Sayyid Muḥammad and Shaikh 'Alā'i were acknowledged Sunnis, for the Shī'ahs believe that the Mahdī is alive but concealed, and Firishṭa says that Jamāl Khān, on establishing the Mahdavi heresy, abolished the Shī'ah *Khuṭbah*. He also says that many Mahdavis came from northern India to serve in a state where their religion had been established, for they had been persecuted early in Akbar's reign, and were still regarded as unorthodox.

³²⁷ This is a mistake. Akbar, on learning of the elevation of Ismā'il Nizām Shāh to the throne of Ahmadnagar, recalled the young king's father from Bangash, where he was employed, and sent him that his son had usurped his throne, and offered him an army that he might restore him. Burhān rejected the offer, saying that his appearance at the head of a foreign army would shake the throne of the Sultan at Delhi and offend him. Akbar therefore permitted him to leave his court with a few followers in order that he might make an appeal to the loyalty of his subjects. Akbar's historians assert that Burhān promised to do so on account of success, to cede Berar, but this is not to be credited, for Burhān had nothing but Akbar's promise, and it was hardly a *quid pro quo* for a rich and fertile province. Burhān of course never intended to depart by a formal promise that he would hold Ahmadnagar as a *Satrap* of the empire, and the promise was never kept, and Akbar complained bitterly of Burhān's ingratitude.

After Şalâbat Khân's death, news came to Jamâl Khân that Burhân Nizâm Shâh's army had entered Berar by way of Gondwâra.³³¹ Jamâl Khân, on hearing this news, was much perturbed, and at once set to work to prepare his army for the field. In the meantime fresh news was received to the effect that Jahângir Khân,³³² the African, one of the *amirs* of Berar, had dared to disobey the orders of Burhân Nizâm Shâh and had even ventured to withstand him by force of arms, and as, in accordance with the saying, "everything is postponed to its proper time," some delay occurred in Burhân Nizâm Shâh's career of victory, Chaghatâi Khân, who was one of the bravest of the Mughul army, was killed by a musket shot, and his troops, when they saw their leader killed, fled at once from the field. The wretch, Jamâl Khân, was much rejoiced by the receipt of this news and began to prepare for the downfall of the kingdom of Ahmadnagar, and wrote a hypocritical and deceiving letter to Burhân Nizâm Shâh, saying that quarrels had broken out between the Foreigners and the Dakanis, and that a number of the former who were in the royal service were afraid to pay their respects at court. He proposed, therefore, that Burhân Nizâm Shâh should come alone to the capital in order that the Foreigners might have no further excuse to delay coming to court and submitting to the royal commands. As the words of Jamâl Khân were far from the truth, they appeared to Burhân Nizâm Shâh to be exactly like the excuses for their enmity given to 'Ali by Talhah and Zubair,³³³ and he paid no attention to them, but marched from the town of Hindiya to the village of Kandoya,³³⁴ which is near Burhânpûr, where he occupied himself day and night in forming plans for the conquest of his hereditary dominions, the result of which plans will be shortly narrated.

CV.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE COMING OF IBRÂHİM 'ÂDİL SHÂH II TO THE ASSISTANCE OF BURHÂN NIZÂM SHÂH, AND OF HIS BATTLE WITH JAMÂL KHÂN.

When Burhân Nizâm Shâh had established his camp at Khândwa he sent letters to the Sultans of the Dakin, summoning all of them to his aid. Ibrâhīm 'Âdil Shâh II, guided by God's grace and on the advice of Dilâvar Khân, who was the *rakîl* of the kingdom of Bijâpûr, girded up his loins to assist Burhân Nizâm Shâh, and marched with a very large army from Bijâpûr.³³⁵

Râja 'Ali Khân, the ruler of Burhânpûr, when he heard of the march of Ibrâhīm 'Âdil Shâh from Bijâpûr, resolved to assist Burhân Nizâm Shâh, and came forth to meet the latter before Asirgâh, offered him *pishkash* and entertained him at the feast, and then marched, in company with him, into Berar. The wretch Jamâl Khân heard of Ibrâhīm 'Âdil Shâh's departure from Bijâpûr and also of the invasion of Berar by Burhân

³³¹ That is to say, through the Sâtpûras, the country of the Korkus, not of the Gonds.

³³² Jahângir Khân, whose fiefs lay on the northern border of Berar, adjoining Khândesh, responded to Burhân's first appeal by promising to support his cause, and thus encouraged him to enter Berar with the small force at his disposal, but for some unexplained reason, probably owing to the presence of a few imperial officers among Burhân's companions, turned against him and attacked him. Burhân was defeated and fled to Hindiya, and thence to the court of Râja 'Ali Khân of Khândesh.

³³³ Talhah and Zubair were two of the six electors appointed by the Caliph 'Umar to elect his successor. The choice fell upon 'Uthmân, much to the disappointment of 'Ali, who was himself one of the electors. Zubair, however, voted for 'Ali. Afterwards, in A.H. 36 (Aug. A.D. 656), when 'Ali, then Caliph, declared war against Mu'aviyyah, Talhah and Zubair deserted him.

³³⁴ Khândwa, now headquarters of the Nimâr District of the Central Provinces, situated in 21° 50' N. and 76° 22' E.

³³⁵ Sayyid 'Ali's account of Burhân's proceedings dislocates the order of events. Burhân's cause had been commended by Akbar to Râja 'Ali Khân of Khândesh, but when Burhân, after his first ill-advised attempt to gain his throne, appealed to Râja 'Ali Khân, the latter counselled him to avoid employing imperial troops, whose presence would only raise the whole of the Dakan against him, and undertook to obtain for him the aid of Ibrâhīm of Bijâpûr, or rather of Dilâvar Khân the African, in whose hands Ibrâhīm was a puppet. He fulfilled his promise, and Dilâvar Khân not only assisted Burhân by creating a diversion to the south of Ahmadnagar, but exhorted the *amirs* of Berar to espouse his cause.—F ii, 119

Nizâm Shâh and Râja 'Alî Khân, the ruler of Burhânpûr, and thus found the whirlpool of destruction closing in upon him on every side. He regarded the business of confronting Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh as the more urgent and, taking with him the prince Ismâ'il, marched against the Bijâpûrîs with nearly 10,000 horse. When the two armies met, at the village of Kârî-nârî, the news of the arrival of Burhân Nizâm Shâh in Berar and of the submission to him of the principal *amîrs* of that province, on whom Jamâl Khân specially relied, was received; but Jamâl Khân, lest the news should spread in the army and cause it to disperse, caused the kettledrums to be beaten and circulated the news that Burhân Nizâm Shâh had been defeated, while he himself prepared for battle with the 'Âdil Shâhîs.

That night Abhang Khân the African, who was one of Jamâl Khân's principal *amîrs*, fled with his troops from Jamâl Khân's camp to the 'Âdil Shâhî camp, and thence to Berar, where he joined Burhân Nizâm Shâh's army.

Although the flight of Abhang Khân and the news of the submission of the *amîrs* of Berar to Burhân Nizâm Shâh combined to shake the resolution of the foolish Jamâl Khân, the obstinacy of ignorance was sufficient to keep him steadfast in his plans, and on the next day he prepared to attack the Bijâpûrî army. Dilâvar Khân, leaving Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh in camp, marched with the army to repulse Jamâl Khân.

When the two armies were drawn up, the warriors on either side prepared to attack their enemies. Bahâdur Khân Gilânî and the Foreigners, who had escaped from the battle with Jamâl Khân and had taken refuge in the Bijâpûr kingdom, charged Jamâl Khân's army. Jamâl Khân's gunners, who had drawn up their heavy guns in front of his army so as to form an impenetrable barrier, now fired. The noise and smoke were tremendous, but as the guns were on an eminence and the 'Âdil Shâhî troops were in a hollow, the fire passed harmlessly over their heads, and the valiant Foreigners charged up to the guns, broke the line of carriages, and then fell on Jamâl Khân's force and attacked it bravely. At this juncture 'Ain-ul-Mulk and Ankas Khân, who were the foremost of the 'Âdil Shâhî army, came round behind Jamâl Khân's army, plundered his baggage and dispersed his army, so that most of Jamâl Khân's troops broke and fled. Jamâl Khân then, with a body of picked cavalry who had withdrawn from the field in good order, observed that most of the 'Âdil Shâhî army was engaged in gathering the spoils and collecting the beasts of the army of Ahmadnagar and that Dilâvar Khân, with a small force, remained in order on the field. He, therefore, taking advantage of the opportunity thus offered, fell on Dilâvar Khân like a thunder-clap and slew many of his men. Dilâvar Khân, although he strove manfully to meet the attack, was unable to keep his men together, and they fled, leaving their elephants, horses, tents, and camp equipage, and Dilâvar Khân himself escaped with difficulty.³³⁶

³³⁶ The army of Bijâpûr advanced to Naldurg and then to Dhârâsiv, in Ahmadnagar territory. Jamâl Khân, taking with him Ismâ'il Nizâm Shâh, marched southwards and occupied an extremely strong position some miles to the north of Dhârâsiv. Dilâvar Khân, misled by reports to the effect that Dilâvar Khân meditated flight, incautiously advanced, with 30,000 horse ill prepared for battle, in the hope of capturing Jamâl Khân. So defective was his system of intelligence that when he saw Jamâl Khân's camp, he suspected it to be that of his own master, Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, with whom he had lost touch. He had only just discovered that it was the enemy's camp when a courtier arrived with a message from Ibrâhîm ordering him not to attack, as he was not prepared, but to await reinforcements. He was inclined to repent his rashness, but his pride would not allow him to withdraw, and he trusted to his superiority in numbers and to Jamâl Khân's sense of weakness as betrayed in his determined efforts to patch up a peace. He therefore pushed on across the difficult and broken ground which lay between him and the enemy. The desertion of Abhang Khân decided Jamâl Khân to fight, for he perceived that if he remained inactive, all his partisans would fall away one by one, and as Dilâvar Khân had sent his Marâthâ troops to the rear of the camp to cut off supplies, immediate action was necessary. On Feb. 28, 1591, Dilâvar Khân's force, having crossed the broken ground which lay between him and the enemy, arrived within striking distance in the greatest disorder. 'Ain-ul-Mulk Kan'ânî, Ankas Khân and other *amîrs* commanding the wings, knowing that Dilâvar Khân was in disfavour and was fighting against orders, fled with their contingents, with the intention of informing Ibrâhîm that Dilâvar Khân's disobedience had involved the army in defeat. Dilâvar Khân, though much embarrassed by the desertion of these *amîrs*, still had a large force under his command, and pressed on to the attack—F ii, 121—124.

When the fugitives arrived at Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāhī's camp, he seeing that no stand could then be made against the enemy, fled to the fortress of Naldrug, and halted nowhere until he reached that fortress, which is seven *gāũ* distant from the battlefield, and the whole of the 'Ādil Shāhī tents, camp equipage, baggage, elephants, horses, arms, and munitions of war fell into the hands of Jamāl Khān's army. Among the spoils were nearly 200 elephants, and the rest of the spoil may be estimated on this scale. The wretch Jamāl Khān retained only the elephants and caused all the other plunder to be divided among his troops.³³⁷

The next day Jamāl Khān turned and marched northward towards Berar to meet Burhān NiẒām Shāh.³³⁸ He was puffed up with pride by his victory over the 'Ādil Shāhī army and regarded a battle with the army of Burhān NiẒām Shāh as a very easy matter. He therefore marched with great speed, covering two stages every day, little thinking that he was marching to meet his fate. The hand of fate had seized his reins and was leading him straight to the slaughter house, and he therefore passed on, intent on battle and disregarding all advice, until he reached the neighbourhood of the *ghāt* of Rohankhed.³³⁹

But before Jamāl Khān could reach the *ghāt* already named, the royal army had already seized on it, and Jamāl Khān therefore turned aside to another *ghāt*, by crossing which he would be able to attack the royal army. When Burhān NiẒām Shāh heard of the intended passage of Jamāl Khān by another *ghāt*, he was inspired to march thither to meet him, and with Rāja 'Alī Khān and the whole army, marched towards the ford for which Jamāl Khān was making. The royal army reached this ford before Jamāl Khān's arrival, and by great good fortune obtained possession of the only water which was to be found in the neighbourhood. At the hottest time of the day, when the sun was at its height, Jamāl Khān and his army descended the *ghāt* and caught sight of the royal army.

When they descended from the hills into the plains, they saw a land which resembled the plain of the resurrection in heat, and dry in the extreme. Jamāl Khān's army marched hither and thither in that dry land in search of water, but found nothing but a mirage.³⁴⁰

When Jamāl Khān found matters to be thus, he turned his heart aside from thoughts of eating and drinking, and even from those of the kingdom and of the wealth, and on that very day, Rajab 13 (May 7, A.D. 1591),³⁴¹ resolved to attack the royal army at once. In company with Khudāvand Khān he drew up his army, placing the artillery in front and the rest of the army in its rear, and then marched to attack the royal army.

It so happened that between the two armies there was an impassable slough, on the edge of which the royal artillery was drawn up in ambush, and Jamāl Khān's army, knowing nothing

³³⁷ Dilāvar Khān was left with only seven attendants, one of whom was the historian Firishṭa, who was wounded, and fled with all speed in order to forestall, if possible, those *amīrs* who had deserted him and wished to destroy him. Before reaching Naldrug he was joined by two or three thousand of his broken troops. Firishṭa, owing to his wounds, was left in Dhārāsiv and fell into the hands of Jamāl Khān, but somehow contrived to escape—F. ii, 124.

³³⁸ Rāja 'Alī Khān and Burhān were much alarmed by the news that Jamāl Khān was marching against them. They wrote to Ibrāhīm, imploring him to harass the enemy as much as possible and sent as prisoners to Asirgarh. Sayyid Amjad the *Mahdavi* and other *amīrs* of Berar whose fidelity they suspected. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, who had been eight days behind Jamāl Khān, halted at Pāthri, near the Godāvari, but sent a force of Marāṭha horse to harass him and cut off his supplies. Dilāvar Khān wished to push on towards Rohankhed, but the king would not move and the quarrel which ensued brought about Dilāvar Khān's downfall.

³³⁹ In 20° 38' N. and 76° 12' E.

³⁴⁰ Jamāl Khān, arriving within striking distance of the enemy after a long and hot march, found him in possession of the only water within view. After some search a grove of date palms was found, which contained just enough water to slake the thirst of Jamāl Khān's men and their horses. Jamāl Khān attacked as soon as his men had refreshed themselves—F. ii, 207.

³⁴¹ Firishṭa (ii, 297) agrees in this date, but the *Akbarnāma* has April 5, 1591.

received honours and rewards befitting their rank. The king's secretary wrote an account of the victory and accession, and thus spread the glad news throughout the world.

The length of the reign of the prince, Ismâ'il Nizâm Shâh, and of the tenure of office by his wakil, Jamâl Khân, was nearly two years.

The battle of Rohankhed was fought on Rajab 13 A.H. 999 (May 7, A.D. 1591). An account of the life of Burhân Nizâm Shâh from his birth and his glorious reign until now would be so long that this book could not contain it. I will, therefore, turn my attention to writing a fresh volume for the delight of the world. I hope that his kingdom will endure as long as the sun shall shine.

CVI.—AN ACCOUNT OF BURHÂN NIZÂM SHÂH'S DESPATCH OF AN ARMY AGAINST
THE FRANKS (PORTUGUESE) AND OF SOME OF THE EVENTS WHICH
HAPPENED AT THAT TIME.

In accordance with the orders of God and the prophet, which enjoin holy wars, the king was ever occupying his mind with thoughts of waging holy wars against infidels and misbelievers and in designs of conquest. But especially did he desire to uproot and overthrow those causes of strife and mischief, the wicked Portuguese, whose tyranny had laid waste countries and cities, and against whose oppression both bond and free cried aloud, and who were thus more obnoxious to the king than other polytheists, for this irreligious nation is distinguished above other polytheists and heretics by its great power and majesty, and Musalmans are ever suffering at their hands.

The late king, Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh, had, in the early part of his reign, led an army against the Portuguese in Revdanda and had besieged that fortress for a long time, in the course of which much fighting took place between the royal army and the Portuguese, and most of the dwellings of the polytheists were destroyed by artillery fire, while many of the Musalmans attained martyrdom. But at length the king, being annoyed with some of the *amîrs* and officers of state who had entered into correspondence with the Portuguese, and in accordance with agreements entered into with them, had hung back in the day of battle, had abandoned the siege and returned to his capital and had punished the treacherous *amîrs*, as has already been related. Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh had had no other opportunity of avenging himself on the misbelievers, and from that time until the time of his ascending the throne, it had been the desire of Burhân Nizâm Shâh to take revenge on the misbelievers and polytheists, and he had been meditating a holy war against that irreligious and evil tribe.

One of the ships of Burhân Nizâm Shâh, named the "Husaini," was sailing from Mecca to the port on Murtaẓâ-âbâd Chaul with a large number of Musalmans and much treasure and property on board and had been sucked into a whirlpool and sunk in the neighbourhood of the port of Vaîsî which is in the possession of the Portuguese, and the Portuguese had recovered most of the treasure and property by means of divers, and had thus opened the doors of war in their faces.³⁴⁵ Fahîm Khân, who was governor of that district and was, by the royal command, engaged in endeavouring to recover the cargo of the ship, reported the affair to the king, and the report aroused the king's old zeal against the Christians, and a command was issued that as Fahîm Khân was well acquainted with the circumstances and conditions of that part of the country and of its forts and strongholds, he should repair immediately to court. Fahîm Khân obeyed the order and travelled in great haste to court. On his arrival the king questioned him regarding all the circumstances and conditions of that country, and then commanded that the map-makers of court should draw an accurate map

³⁴⁵ This provocation is not mentioned by Firishta. The Portuguese account says:—'This action (the attack on Revdanda) was taken by the Nizamalucô (Burhân Nizâm Shâh), notwithstanding the treaty that still existed between him and the Portuguese, which had been concluded by Francisco Barreto; but he justified his action in this respect on the ground of certain complaints which he preferred against the present governor, Matthias de Albuquerque.—Danvers, ii. 89. 'Vaîsî' was perhaps Bassein.

of the village of Revdanda, of Chaul and of the hill of Kârla,³⁴⁶ which is opposite to these villages and commands them, and should submit it to him. The order was obeyed, and a very accurate map was drawn and submitted to the king. The king then decided that the troops should first build a fort on the Kârla hill and should garrison it and mount guns in it in order to strike terror into the hearts of the polytheists and to overthrow their buildings and dwellings, and to close the way by sea which was their only way of obtaining supplies, thus reducing them to extreme straits. The position of the Kârla hill was such that the only way to Revdanda by sea lay past it, and after a fort had been built on its summit it would be impossible even for birds to find a passage by that way. The *amîrs* and officers of state applauded this plan of the king's.

In spite of the fact that most of the *amîrs* and troops had been detached to Berar, which was on the frontier of Akbar's empire and was, as was then rumoured, likely to be attacked by Sultân Murâd, of the fact that the grounds of quarrel between Burhân Nizâm Shâh and Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh had not been entirely removed, and of the fact that 'Imâd Khân with a number of the best known *amîrs* had been detached to the assistance of Muḥammad Qulî Qutb Shâh, Burhân Nizâm Shâh, having resolved to wage a holy war against the infidels, paid no heed to other enemies, but commanded all *amîrs* then present at court to prepare themselves and their troops for a holy war against the unbelievers.

In accordance with the royal command, Farhâd Khân the African, who was one of the slaves of the court, prepared to march against the misbelieving Franks and was invested with a robe of honour and appointed to the command of the expedition, and I'timâd Khân, *sar-i-naubat* of the left wing, was appointed *sar-i-naubat* and muster master of the force, and assistant to Farhâd Khân, and a large number of the famous *amîrs*, such as Shujâ'at Khân, Tâj Khân, Bajlah Khân, Bahâdur Khân, Nasir-ul-Mulk, Âne Râo, Kâmil Khân, Muhtabî Khân and Shaikh Farîd Râja, who commanded all the *sîlâldârs*, with most of the *hawâldârs* and officers of the army, and all the troops—Africans, Turks, Dakan's, and Khurâsânîs—were appointed to the army under the command of Farhâd Khân, and on Tuesday, Sha'ban 2, marched towards the port of Revdanda—an army such as had never marched to battle before.³⁴⁷

Fahîm Khân, who was an old servant of the Nizâm Shâhî dynasty, and had long been governor of the whole of the Konkan, was now appointed, on account of his intimate knowledge of that country, to be special assistant to Farhâd Khân and his army. Bakhtyâr Khân, *sarpardadâr*, who was a specially trusted servant of the king, was appointed to the command of all the infantry, gunners, archers and spearmen of the expedition—a very large force—and

³⁴⁶ Firishta (ii, 302) calls this hill Khorla. According to the Portuguese account, the commander of the 'Moorish' settlement on the opposite side of the river, who had once been in the service of the Portuguese, 'had collected on a height called the Morro a body of 4,000 horse and 7,000 infantry, with which he overawed the Portuguese city, and inflicted considerable damage on the place with sixty-five large cannon which he had placed there'—Danvers, ii, 88, 89.

³⁴⁷ The date here given is equivalent to May 4, 1593, but according to the Portuguese account:—"The Moors began a regular siege of Chaul in April, 1592." It is clear that hostilities began some time before Farhâd Khân was appointed to the command of the besieging force, for Firishta says that the Portuguese, before his arrival, had already made two successful night attacks on the Muslims, killing, on each occasion, two or three thousand Dakanîs, at whose destruction Burhân Nizâm Shâh secretly rejoiced. The Muslims were at first commanded by 'the eunuch Taladar,' who was wounded and died. A Turk who succeeded him was also killed, and Farhâd Khân, who arrived from Ahmadnagar with 10,000 horse, then took command of this besieging force. The Portuguese were also reinforced by sixty grabs laden with fighting men and munitions of war, according to Firishta. The Portuguese account is more explicit: "Dom Alvaro de Abranches shortly arrived with a reinforcement of 300 men from Bassein and 200 men from Surat, and the garrison then consisted of 1,500 Portuguese and about an equal number of slaves." Firishta says that on July 17, 1593, 1,000 Portuguese and many African slaves attacked Khorla and were defeated, 100 Portuguese and 200 other Christians being slain, and Burhân II gave a great banquet to celebrate this victory. The Portuguese account does not mention this reverse.—F. ii, 302, 303; Danvers, ii, 89.

marched with them for the land of the unbelievers. Asad Khān, one of the trusted servants of the kingdom, who was distinguished for his political wisdom and had for a long time held the office of *pishvā* and *vakil*, as has been said, and who was also unequalled in the art of besieging and reducing fortresses and in his knowledge of artillery, was sent, in company with Rūmi Khān, who was also one of the most famous artillerists of the Dakan and was in command of the artillery of Burhān Nizām Shāh, with the heavy artillery of Ahmadnagar to overwhelm the polytheists.

The zeal of Burhān Nizām Shāh against the polytheists was such that he continually went in person to the gun park and urged the expediting of the dispatch of the artillery, until at length all the great guns were sent against the Franks.³⁴⁸

CVII.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE PUNISHMENT OF SOME FOES IN THE GUISE OF FRIENDS
WHO, THOUGH IN THE SERVICE OF BURHĀN NIZĀM SHĀH, WERE SECRETLY
LEAGUED WITH HIS ENEMIES AND ENDEAVOURING TO BRING ABOUT
THE RUIN OF THE KINGDOM.

In the meantime, while the army was being despatched against the polytheists, the king received news from the *kotwāl* of the fortress of Jond that a number of rebels, headed by that chief of rebels and enemy of the family of the prophet—Amjad-ul-Mulk the *Mahdavi*—Amjad-ul-Mulk, had formed the design of rebelling and had sent a large sum to the *nāikwāris* of that fort to induce them, by some means or other, to set free the prince Ismā'il, the son of Burhān Nizām Shāh, who had himself been king, and to hand him over to them, in order that he might become the nucleus of a rebellion.³⁴⁹

Burhān Nizām Shāh, who was under God's special protection, although he knew all about the actions of these seditious persons, had, nevertheless, been indisposed to punish before any overt act had been committed. Now, however, that the treason of these traitors had been exposed and they had been shown in their true light by the petition of the *kotwāl* of the fortress, and the petition of Rashid-ul-Mulk, the Bijāpūr envoy, the king set himself to prevent the rebellion before it had actually broken out, and issued an order summoning the wicked Amjad-ul-Mulk from his *jāgīr*, where he had been compelled to dwell by a royal *farmān*, to court, in order that his case might be tried and that he might be handed over to the police officer in the event of his guilt being proved.

Mahallidār Khān, in accordance with the royal command, went to summon the rebel and dragged him to the royal court. After he had been tried, a number of his fellow conspirators who had been concerned in his plot, were brought to trial, and were sentenced to

³⁴⁸ Sayyid 'Alī does not mention the disgraceful end of the expedition to Chaul. Firishta says (ii, 3. 4, 305) that on the night of Friday, September 13, 1593, 4,000 Portuguese attacked Khorla. Taj Khān and Ane Rao were encamped without the fort with a force and bore the first brunt of the attack. The gates of the fort were opened to admit the fugitives but could not be shut in time to exclude their pursuers, and the Portuguese followed them into the fort and began to lay about them. The uproar awoke Farhād Khān, Asad Khān, and the other *amīrs* from their sleep, but they were too confused to devise any measure of defence, and the slaughter continued. Ten or twelve thousand Muslims were slain and Farhād Khān and his wife and daughter were taken alive. His wife was ransomed, but he and his daughter became Christians and went to Portugal. The Portuguese account places the number of the killed at 10,000 "whilst others have stated that they amounted to 60,000." The spoils were considerable, and of the Portuguese only twenty-one were killed. (Danvers, ii, 90.) Firishta (ii, 304) attributes the apathy of the officers to disaffection caused by the tyranny of Burhān II, and adds that Burhān regarded this slaughter of the Dakanis as a victory.

³⁴⁹ Burhān II had from the first been obnoxious to the Dakanis and Africans, and there had been more than one plot to depose him and restore his son Ismā'il. Sayyid Amjad-ul-Mulk, though a Foreigner, had adopted the *Mahdavi* religion, the professors of which were chiefly Dakanis and Africans. Firishta does not mention Amjad-ul-Mulk's plot.

be flayed alive, while Amjad-ul-Mulk, who had been a traitor to his master and benefactor and had earned the reward of his treason, was blinded, but as this was not all the punishment due to his treason, after his eyes had been torn out and he had been subjected to blindness, which is the worst of punishments, the lord of hell hastened to receive his wicked spirit and reunited him with the evil Jamâl Khân and the other lords of error who had been his companions, and it was proved to the world that the way of transgressors is hard and their end evil.

CVIII.—AN ACCOUNT OF SOME OF THE ACTS OF JUSTICE OF BURHÂN NIZÂM SHÂH, WHICH WERE PERFORMED ABOUT THIS TIME.³¹⁰

In the course of these events it was reported to the king that Sayyid Nûr Muhammad Amin, who had proceeded as an ambassador, Jalâl-ud-din Muhammad Akbar Padshâh, to the court of Ibrâhim 'Adil Shâh II, was returning from Bijâpûr and had arrived within a short distance of Ahmadnagar, and the king decided, in view of the service formerly rendered by him to the Nizâm Shâhî dynasty, to honour him by summoning him to the capital and entertaining him, and by the royal command the learned and distinguished Sayyid Qanûm, who was one of the king's most intimate courtiers, was sent to invite Nûr Muhammad Amin, whom he found in the neighbourhood of the capital, and brought to court. When he arrived at the outskirts of the garden of the 'Ibâdatkhâna, a number of the nobles, such as Miyân Manjihû Jâmî Begi, Sharza Khân, *sar-i-naubat* of the right wing, and other officers of the army, went forth by the royal command to welcome the Sayyid, and brought him to the outskirts of the garden of the watercourse where they lodged him. After that great quantities of fodder, of food, drink, and all sorts of fruits were sent for use of the Sayyid and his followers, the plain being loaded with these evidences of royal generosity.

After Nûr Muhammad Amin had been thus royally entertained at a banquet, it was reported to the king in a petition from Nûr Muhammad Tâhîr Mîrânî that when he was ambassador from Qasb Shâh to 'Adil Shâh it had been reported to that king that Nûr Muhammad Amin had oppressively possessed himself of the property of certain merchants who were travelling in the same direction as he was. The petition expressed a hope that the king would not pass over such tyranny but would see that those who had suffered wrong were righted. Now, although the offence had not been committed within the dominions of Ahmadnagar, the king's sense of justice, hatred of oppression, and benevolence towards all who were desolate and oppressed were such that he determined to right the wrong. In spite of what was agreeable to that Sayyid in particular, and to all other Sayyids in general, and in spite of Nûr Muhammad Amin's high post in the service of so mighty a monarch as Jalâl-ud-din Muhammad Akbar, who had for nearly 40 years sat upon the imperial throne, ruling over most of the countries of Hind, Sind, Kabul, Kashmir, Bengal, Mîlwa, Gajarât and Saurâst, and was above all the kings of the earth by reason of the numbers and strength of his armies—in spite of all these considerations—

³¹⁰ Sayyid 'Alî in all his petitions acts of justice, but not his tyranny. During the reign of Chahûl he formed the habit of seizing and dispossessing the wives and daughters of his subjects. He once married Shajvat Bîbi the Afghân, one of his chief ladies, to one of his nobles, and before long she, by his ill management, was found to have his wife brought to the capital heavily laden. The lady did not find favour in his eyes and he sent her away unmarried, but in the meantime Shajvat Bîbi had become attached to him, settling himself in the seraglio. The king's ear reached a story of a favourite, and the effects of Chahûl's neglected duty and thought of nothing but returning to his harem and depriving the sultan —*Ham. 304.*

Then Ahmad (Nizâm) Shâh, taking with him all the cash and valuables that were in the treasury, nearly 300 elephants, the whole of the artillery, all the insignia and paraphernalia of royalty, and about 8,000 horse who had chosen to accompany him and to serve him, retired disgracefully on Friday, Rabi II, 20 (December 23, A.D. 1595) to Bir.³⁶⁸

A number of the great nobles and officers of state, such as Afzal Khân, who had more experience of the service of kings than any of his contemporaries, now privately assured Chând Bibi Sultân of their fidelity to her and entered the service of the Nizâm Shâhî house. Also Maulânâ Shams-ud-dîn Muhammad Lâri, the ambassador of Ibrâhîm 'Adil Shâh II, Maulânâ Hâjî Isfahânî, the ambassador of Muhammad Qulî Qutb Shâh, Habib Khân, who was at that time made an *amîr* and a local governor, the Sayyid Mir Zamân Rizavî-yi-Mashhadî, and a large number of other Foreigners, of whom the author was one, withdrew from public affairs, and being no longer content to be associated with Miyân Manjhû preferred the service of the Queen to the company of that chief of evil men.

Miyân Manjhû, fearing the opposition of the Foreigners, sent a messenger to Safîdar Khân, governor of the city of Burhânâbâd, ordering him to bring all the Foreigners, whether they would or not, with all the artillery, firearms, and munitions of war belonging to the government, to the royal camp. Safîdar Khân, Habib Khân, Asad Khân, and some other Foreigners were thus compelled to march, whether they would or not, and join the camp of Miyân Manjhû, but a number of other (Foreign) officers sat at home, closed their doors to the world, and refused to join the army of Miyân Manjhû.

When Chând Bibi Sultân heard of the flight of the traitors and revolutionists, she devoted the whole of her attention to the settling of the affairs of the faith and of state and to strengthening the foundations of the realm and the monarchy and repairing the breaches caused by the recent disorders. . . . being, . . . ³⁶⁹ of the royal family, had been from time to time when he came to years of discretion, always scrupulously observant of the orders issued by royal authority, and firm in his obedience thereto, especially during the supremacy of Miyân Manjhû, and had always entered into engagements with Afzal Khân regarding the repelling of the enemies of the state and evolved effectual plans to this end, now that Miyân Manjhû had left the capital empty and retreated, Chând Bibi Sultân sent for Afzal Khân and Muhammad Khân and urged them to oppose An'sâr Khân. As most of the chief men and nobles of the state had left the army of Miyân Manjhû, An'sâr Khân, *kotwâl* of the fortress of Ahmadnagar, becoming apprehensive of them, prepared, in pursuance of the instructions which he had received from Miyân Manjhû, to oppose them; and as he feared Muhammad Khân, who was the chief and leader of all the Dakanis, more than any of the others he regarded his overthrow as the most important of all the steps to be taken.

On Monday, therefore, Rabi-'us-sânî 23 (December 26, A.D. 1595) which day was in truth, the morning of the prosperity of the good, and the evening of the downfall of the foes of the state, having made all arrangements with his brethren and his partisans for slaying

³⁶⁸ Firishta says (ii, 312) that Miyân Manjhû and Ahmad Shâh retired to Ausa, in order to summon help from Bijâpûr and Golconda. Miyân Manjhû had three good reasons for retiring from Ahmadnagar. He was apprehensive of Chând Bibi, he feared to meet the imperial army in the field, and his position, as the statesman who had invited imperial intervention, would have been most embarrassing.

³⁶⁹ These blanks in the original MS. may be filled in as follows:—Muhammad Khân, son of Muhibbullâh . . . a connection Muhibbullâh had been the foster-brother of Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh.

Zamân displayed the valour which is ever the mark of Sayyids, and with a small force charged the compact mass of the Mughul army and scattered it. When the garrison of the fort saw the standards of the army of Ahmadnagar borne triumphantly aloft in the hour of victory, their courage was renewed and the despair and discouragement which had afflicted them disappeared, so that they took the field valiantly, confident of victory.

In the evening of the same day the army of the highborn and successful prince Shâh Murâd, with his great *amîrs* and *Khâns*, such as Mirzâ Shâhbrukh, governor of Badakhshân, Shahbâz Khân, Sâdiq Muhammad Khân, Sayyid Murtazâ and the rest of the *amîrs* and officers, an army swift to shed blood, covering with its hosts both mountain and plain, darkening the sun with its dust, and advancing like a tempestuous sea, arrived at the environs of the city, and encamped near the garden of the old watercourse, which is called the *Bâgh-i-Bihisht*, where the prince's pavilion was set up.

CX.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE SACK AND PLUNDER OF THE CITY AND COUNTRY WHICH DISGUSTED AND REPELLED BOTH GREAT AND SMALL.

This was one of the reasons why the Mughals failed to capture the fort.³⁶² As soon as the prince, Shâh Murâd, and the *Khânkhânân* heard of this oppression of the people, they did their utmost to check and prevent it, and executed a number of the plunderers in order to deter the rest, but nobody in the town or in the suburbs had any property left nor any shelter, for the very foundations of all the houses were so destroyed and obliterated that none could distinguish his own house from another's. As it was God's will that the plans of Akbar's army to capture the fort should fail, this occurrence was the cause of the undermining of the strength and the destruction of the power of the Mughul army and of the restoration of the hopes of the supporters of the Ahmadnagar monarchy, and this was, in truth, the first breach in the foundations of the enemies' fortunes and the cause of disgust in the minds of all, both small and great, in the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. This enabled them to understand the truth of the secret of the advantage of suffering a little loss to secure a great gain, for this wholesale wasting and plundering denuded the whole country of inhabitants and habitations and prevented all traffic through it, the result being that for three months the enemy had no communication of any sort with their own country and that a famine broke out in their camp, so that in that space of time no one, gentle or simple, so much as looked on rice, ghi, or other necessities of life, and this plundering, and the famine which ensued, became the cause of the enemy's retreat, as will shortly be described. Help and assistance are from God!

CXI.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE NIGHT ATTACK WHICH MURIZ-UD-DIN ABHANG KHÂN³⁶³ MADE ON THE MUGHUL ARMY, AND OF SOME OTHER EVENTS WHICH HAPPENED AT THE SAME TIME.

It has already been said that when the African *amîrs*, owing to the evil results of their continual quarrels with one another, separated and were scattered, they dispersed to all parts of the kingdom. Of these *amîrs*, Ikhlas Khân, 'Azîz-ul-Mulk, Balîl Khân and others hastened

³⁶² According to the *Akbarnâma* and *Firishta* (ii, 313), Shahbâz Khân, a bigoted *Sunni*, was responsible for this atrocity. The policy of the prince and the *Khânkhânân* (a *Shi'ah*) was to conciliate the inhabitants, to whom, therefore, they proclaimed an amnesty, but on December 29 (December 30, according to *Firishta*, ii, 313) Shahbâz Khân ordered a massacre of the inhabitants of the city of Ahmadnagar and of the suburb of Bûrhanâbâd. The wretched people were plundered and slain, and Shahbâz Khân proceeded to plunder the building known as the Hospice of the Twelve Imâms. He was severely rebuked by the prince and the *Khânkhânân*, and many of his followers, caught plundering, were put to death. The outrage seriously injured the imperial cause.

³⁶³ The *Akbarnâma* agrees with Sayyid 'Alî in calling this *amîr* Abhang Khân. *Firishta* -- " -- Abhang Khân, but this may be a scribe's error.

In the meantime an army was seen approaching the city from the north, and reached the neighbourhood of the 'idgâh. Some of them galloped up to the top of the 'idgâh hill, and the rest of them marched towards the city.³⁶¹

Nobody had had any idea that the army of the Mughuls was so near at hand. Some thought it to be the army of Sa'âdat Khân, while others thought that it was the army of the Africans. Shamsîr Khân sent a man out to them to ascertain the truth, and he returned with the news that the army was the Khânkhânân's and was the advanced guard of the Mughuls. When the nobles and the garrison of the fort learnt of the arrival of the Mughul army, they sent out some guns against them and opened fire upon them with a view to breaking their line, which had now reached the edge of the plain of the *Kâlâ Chabûtra*, and used their utmost endeavours in repairing and strengthening the defences and preparing every thing that was necessary for the siege.

As the day had now drawn on to evening the Khânkhânân's army did not halt longer in the neighbourhood of the fort, but retired and joined the Khânkhânân who had halted near the old garden of the watercourse, and kept careful watch all that night until the breaking of the true dawn on the following morning. Châud Bibi Sultân also paid attention to the needs of her subjects and appointed Muhammad Khân vakîl and *amîr-ul-umará* as a reward for his great services, entrusting to him the duty of fortifying and defending the fort, and warning him to exercise all possible care in the execution of these duties. The protection of the poor subjects living without the fort and the duty of meeting the enemy in the field were entrusted to Mujâhid-ud-dîn Shamsîr Khân, with whom were associated Nûr Muhammad Zamân and a number of other brave officers.

The next day was Tuesday, Rabî'-us-Sâni 24 (December 27, A.D. 1595). The Khânkhânân, detaching a number of his chief officers to protect the city and Burhânâbâd and to look to the safety of the poor inhabitants, proclaimed a general amnesty to all, both small and great. A number of the poor and weak dwellers in the suburbs, who had remained in their houses because they had no means of transporting themselves and their property within the city, were much reassured by the proclamation of this amnesty, and took advantage of it to move into the fort and into other fortified posts.

On this day Nûr Muhammad Zamân was deputed to summon Sayyid Jalâl-ud-dîn Haïdar and brought that Sayyid and his noble sons to court, and Afzal Khân was deputed to summon the ambassadors of the Sultans of the Dakan and brought those two pillars of the faith and of the state to court; and on the same day a battle was fought between Mujâhid-ud-dîn Shamsîr Khân and his loyal army on the one side and a force of the Mughuls which had had the temerity to occupy the plain of the *Kâlâ Chabûtra* on the other, and in the battle Nûr Muhammad

³⁶¹ The advance of the imperial army had been delayed by the quarrels between Akbar's son, Sultân Murâd, viceroy of Gujarât, and the Khânkhânân. The prince had insisted on the Khânkhânân's joining him in Gujarât, that they might advance together on Ahmadnagar, but the Khânkhânân, with whom was Shâhrukh Mirzâ of Badakhshân, refused to march as a mere follower of the prince, and maintained that each should march from his own province and that they should converge on Ahmadnagar. The prince, angered by the Khânkhânân's dilatory movements, began his march on Ahmadnagar, and the Khânkhânân, leaving Shâhrukh Mirzâ with the guns, heavy baggage, and main body of his army, hastened forward and met the prince on December 11, 1595, at Chândûr (20° 19' and 74° 15' E.). Here he shewed so little respect to the prince that for some time the latter would not receive him formally, and their relations were further embittered by a violent quarrel between Sâdiq Muhammad Khân, the prince's tutor, and Shâhbâz Khân, one of the Khânkhânân's chief *amîrs*. However the army advanced and the Khânkhânân arrived before Ahmednagar as stated here and by Firîshhta (ii, 312) on December 26, 1595. See *Akbarnâma*.

way, was unguarded by the Mughuls, and on the evening of Saturday, Rabî-us-sânî 28 (December 30, A.D. 1595), Mirân Shâh 'Alî and Mubâriz-ud-dîn Abhang Khân with their valiant army, entered the fort by the road which the spy had indicated.³⁶⁶

The strange thing was that on that morning Shâh Murâd had ridden round the fort in order to inspect the works and to apportion the posts to the corps of his army, and had assigned the eastern side, where ran the Tisgâon road and the high road by which the army was to come, to the Khânkhânân and that on the evening of the same day the Khânkhânân marched from the neighbourhood of the *Namâzgâh* to the garden of the 'Ibâdat-Khâna, which stood in the road of the army of Mirân 'Alî Shâh and Mubâriz-ud-dîn Abhang Khân, and there encamped with his army.³⁶⁷ On that dark night the whole of the Khânkhânân's corps, having no expectation of the arrival of the enemy, slept the sleep of negligence, without having taken any of the ordinary precautions against surprise. When two watches of the night had passed Mirân 'Alî Shâh and Mubâriz-ud-dîn Abhang Khân marched up with their brave army and became aware of the encampment of the Mughuls at the garden of the 'Ibâdat-Khâna. Finding the Mughuls asleep and defenceless they fell upon them and began to slay them. When the Khânkhânân's negligent corps awakened confusedly from their sleep, they found that they were being attacked by a fierce enemy, that the way of escape was closed on every side, and that death was staring them in the face; they found that no course but to fight bravely was open to them, and they therefore prepared to resist their enemy and to gain a name as soldiers. Some fought at the doors of their tents and some, leaving their own belongings, made for the tent of the Khânkhânân.

The army of the Dakan, when they found tents empty of their owners, cast prudence and caution to the winds, and proceeded to plunder the enemy's goods; but Mubâriz-ud-dîn Abhang Khân, with a resolute body of men, made a stand near the pavilion of the Khânkhânân and there kept his flag flying for nearly two astrological hours, fighting manfully with the enemy the while. The Khânkhânân, taking with him a body of expert archers, retired to the roof of the building in which he lodged and poured showers of arrows and shot and a fire of musketry on Abhang Khân and his followers, until by degrees the numbers of those around the Khânkhânân grew ever greater and greater, while the army of the Dakan melted away in search of plunder. When Abhang Khân saw that the enemy had grown strong and that there was no longer any hope of a successful attack on them, he retreated towards the fort, taking with him the son of Mirân Shâh 'Alî, while Shâh 'Alî himself and the troops with him retreated by the road by which they had come³⁶⁸ and were pursued by Daulat Khân Lodi, one of the *amirs* of the Khânkhânân's army, who captured and slew many of his men.³⁶⁹

Mubâriz-ud-dîn Abhang Khân, however, with the son of Mirân Shâh 'Alî, and a large force, contrived to reach the gate of the fort in the darkness of the night and increased the confidence and raised the spirits of the garrison a thousand-fold. The chamberlains of the court, by the orders of Chând Bibî Sultân, led Mubâriz-ud-dîn Abhang Khân and the

³⁶⁶ In the *Akbarnâma* a very misleading account of this affair is given. It is said that on December 31 Shâh 'Alî and Abhang Khân led a night attack on the Khânkhânân's lines, but were defeated and driven back into the city with heavy loss. The Khânkhânân was blamed for not capturing them. It was the city that they were trying to reach, and Abhang Khân attained his object. 'Alî Shâh did not enter the city, but fled. His son Murtaẓâ, afterwards Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh II, entered the city with Abhang Khân.

³⁶⁷ Sultân Murâd had inspected the trenches and, finding that there were none on this side of the city, had ordered the Khânkhânân to take his post there. F. ii, 314.

³⁶⁸ 'Alî Shâh was an old man of seventy who had for many years lived a retired life in Bijâpûr and was loth to incur the dangers and hardships of active service or to enter the disturbed arena of Ahmadnagar politics. F. ii, 313, 315.

³⁶⁹ About 900. F. ii, 315.

to Daulatâbâd, the garrison of which fortress, acting in concert with them, raised to the throne a person called Motî, whom they entitled Motî Shâh, and raised the standard of independence and of opposition to all others.

In the same way Mubâriz-ud-dîn Abhang Khân also hastened to Bijâpûr for the purpose of securing possession of the person of some member of the royal family of Ahmadnagar who could be set up as heir to the kingdom. Here he found Mirân Shâh 'Alî, the son of the late Burhân Nizâm Shâh I, who was living under the protection of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh II, and his son, who was then twenty years of age, and took them, with a body of troops, into the Bîr district where, with a view to composing the affairs of that district and to conquering the rest of the kingdom, he assembled large numbers of the army which was scattered and dispersed throughout the district. Miyân Manjhû from fear of the Mughul army had also fled into the Bîr district, taking Ahmad Shâh with him, so now Chând Bibî Sultân, whose endeavours were ever directed to what was best for the state, and to the good administration of the kingdom, sent a trusty servant with her own sign manual to Mubâriz-ud-dîn Abhang Khân forbidding him to fight with Miyân Manjhû and his followers, and ordering him to repair at once to Daulatâbâd and there to come to an agreement with, and join forces with the rest of the African amîrs and all who were still loyal, and to drive out the Mughul army.³⁶⁴

In obedience to the queen's command Mubâriz-ud-dîn Abhang Khân, with Mirân Shâh 'Alî and about 5,000³⁶⁵ horse, ready for battle, marched to Daulatâbâd, and when the news of his approach with Mirân Shâh 'Alî reached Ikhlas Khân and the rest of the African amîrs, they, owing to their former disputes with Abhang Khân, would not accept Mirân Shâh 'Alî. They took counsel among themselves, saying: "We have raised a king to the throne and elevated the royal umbrella over his head, and have drawn into our own hands the management and means of managing all the affairs of the kingdom. Now for no reason whatever, to depose our king and to acknowledge Shâh 'Alî, the *protégé* of Abhang Khân, and to place ourselves under the orders of our enemy, can lead to nothing but shame and repentance. They therefore refused to join themselves to Mubâriz-ud-dîn Abhang Khân, or to acknowledge Mirân Shâh 'Alî, and declined either to see them or to have any communication with them, but a force of about 500 of the best cavalry, *silâhdârs* and other brave men, deserted Ikhlas Khân and joined the army of Shâh 'Alî and Abhang Khân.

When Mirân Shâh 'Alî and Mubâriz-ud-dîn Abhang Khân had given up all hopes of coming to an agreement with Ikhlas Khân and the rest of the African amîrs, they reported the whole matter to Chând Bibî Sultân and said that they were willing to bring their army to Ahmadnagar and to do their utmost both to assist in defending the fort and in engaging the enemy in the field. The queen issued an order directing them to come, and they marched towards the city. When they approached the suburbs they sent a spy to inquire which entrance to the fort was unwatched and guarded by the Mughuls. The spy returned and reported that the eastern side of the fortress, on which was a high road to Tisgâon and the public high-

³⁶⁴ Firishta mentions (ii, 313) the confusion prevailing in the state of Ahmadnagar owing to the existence of irreconcilable factions, of which there were no less than four:—(1) Miyân Manjhû, on the Bijâpûr frontier, acknowledging the impostor, Ahmad Shâh; (2) Ikhlas Khân and his party, near Daulatâbâd, acknowledging the impostor, Motî Shâh; (3) Abhang Khân, on the Bijâpûr frontier, acknowledging the pretender, 'Alî Nizâm Shâh, son of Burhân Nizâm Shâh I; and (4) Chând Bibî, in Ahmadnagar, acknowledging the heir of line, the infant Bahâdur, son of Ibrâhîm Nizâm Shâh, who was imprisoned in Jond.

³⁶⁵ Firishta (ii, 314) says 7,000 horse.

pressed. He distributed most of the valuable stuffs taken among his army while the right-ful owners wandered barefoot and bareheaded about his door day and night, crying for justice but unable to obtain from their own stores sufficient for their bodies.³⁷⁵ This matter displeased Shâh Murâd and he returned from the *Farah Bakhsh* garden to Bhingar. On his way two of the *Khânkhânân*'s personal staff came up to him and received evidence of his wrath against the *Khânkhânân*.

Sâdiq Muḥammad *Khân*, now again acquired great influence as *vakil* while the *Khânkhânân* remained for some days in the *Farah Bakhsh* garden engaged in pleasure, paying no attention whatever to the siege operations. The prince, however, was in the trenches from morning to evening, directing the operation and revolving plans for the reduction of the fortress. Once more a number of councillors formed a council without consulting the *Khânkhânân*, and brought him from the *Farah Bakhsh* garden to the lines around Ahmadnagar so that he was compelled to take at least an apparent interest in the siege, and detached part of his own corps to the neighbourhood of the *Kâlâ Chabûtra*, which is opposite to the gate of the fort.

Traditions of the old friendship between Râja 'Ali *Khân*, ruler of *Khândesh*, still remained, and he maintained an uninterrupted intercourse with those within the fort, so that they were enabled, by his means, to introduce into the fort any supplies that they might require, and occasionally, when a body of gunners came from the other forts in the kingdom to reinforce those in Ahmadnagar, they were able to enter the fortress by the help of Râja 'Ali *Khân* and greatly strengthened the defence. When this matter became known to the prince he removed Râja 'Ali *Khân* from the position which he occupied and placed that section of the trenches under the command of Râja Jagannâth, who was one of the great Râjpût *amirs*, and thus all ingress and egress was stopped. In the course of the siege, and while it was at its height, Râja 'Ali *Khân*, ruler of *Burhânpûr*, being instigated thereto by Akbar's *amirs*, sent to Chând Bibî Sultân a letter saying "I purposely accompanied the Mughul army into this country for the purpose of preserving the honour of the Nizâm Shâhî dynasty. I know well that this fortress will, in a short time, be captured by the Mughuls. See that you shun not the fight but protect your honour and surrender this fort at the last to the prince, and he will give you in exchange for it any fort and any district in this country that you may choose. The honour of the Nizâm Shâhî house is, owing to the connection between us, the same to me as the honour of my own house, and it is for this reason that I, laying aside all fear of arrow or bullet, have come to the gate of the fort, and I will bring Chând Bibî Sultân to my own camp."

When the defenders received this letter their dismay and confusion were greatly increased and they were struck with terror, for they had relied greatly on Râja 'Ali *Khân*, and they now almost decided to surrender, but Afzal *Khân* did his best to pacify them and to calm their fears, and sent Râja 'Ali *Khân* a reply saying, "I wonder at your intellect and policy in sending such a letter to Chând Bibî Sultân and that you should endeavour to destroy this dynasty. It was you who went forth to greet the Mughul army and it was you that brought them into this country, and the Sultans of the Dakan will not forget this. Soon, by the grace of God, the Mughul army will have to retreat and then Chând Bibî Sultân will be in communication, as before, with the Sultans of the Dakan. It will then be for you to fear the vengeance of the brave men of the Dakan and to tremble for your house and for

³⁷⁵ It is admitted in the *Akbarnâma* that the inhabitants of Paithan had been included in the general amnesty and that the plunder of the town was a breach of faith which seriously injured the imperial cause.

supererogatory devotions, the mines were filled powder and tamped with mud and stones and left till the morning, at which time the sentries who have watched all night, take their rest and the guards generally are negligent, when the mines were to be fired in order that the wall of the fort might be thrown down and that the besiegers might rush in through the breach and make themselves masters of the place. But as it was decreed that the fortress was not to be taken, Khyāja Muhammad Khân,³⁷⁹ who had been a high official in Fars and was of the *razzādas* of Shirāz and was a man distinguished by his fidelity and singleness of heart, ascertained the position of the enemy's mines, and at the risk of his life, obtained an entrance into the fort and set all the people therein, both great and small, to digging countermines. They struck one of the enemy's mines and removed the charge, filling its place with stones and earth. When the sun rose they struck another of the enemy's mines, not yet charged, which they left alone. They then began to look for the third mine. Sâdiq Muhammad Khân ordered the firing of the mines to be delayed until after midday, as the day was Friday, Rajab 1, a day on which fighting is unlawful, and this delay was the salvation of the defenders, for they had been toiling all night in the countermines and were weary in the morning, so that they were compelled to return to their homes for some rest, and if the besiegers had fired the mines, then it is possible that the assault would have been successful, as the defenders would have had no information of the affair and would have been absent, but as fate had decreed that the fortress should be saved from the enemy, the defenders were mysteriously strengthened at every turn.

From the early dawn of Friday Shāh Murād and Sâdiq Muhammad Khân were employed in assembling their troops, in preparing everything necessary for the assault, and in issuing orders for the parading of the corps of the *amîrs* under the walls of the fortress. These orders were proclaimed to all the army by heralds, and the army paraded in force and surrounded the fort of Ahmadnagar like a tempestuous sea.

Shāh Murād took the field against the fortress in person, but all the *amîrs* and great Khâns led their corps towards the Khânkhânân and Shahbâz Khân, whose conduct in the field was regulated by their desire to please the Shāhzâda Shaikhûji,³⁸⁰ who was opposed to the conquest of the Dakan.

When the whole army was drawn up, the fireworkers advanced and fired the mines. By this time the defenders had found two full mines and had removed their charges, and had also found an empty mine, the end of which they left open. The remaining mines, however, blew up with a terrific report, and destroyed about 50 yards of the wall.³⁸¹ A force of the enemy which had been halted near the ditch and was waiting for the firing of the mine, threw themselves into the ditch and rushed forward towards the breach, and as it seemed probable that other sections of the wall would fall, the rest of the army awaited their fall, in order that they might make a combined assault and capture the fortress. Many of the stones which were blown into the air fell on these men and killed many of them, and as

³⁷⁹ Khyāja Muhammad Khân Shirāzi was in the army of Sultân Murād. His treachery is not mentioned in the *Akbarnāma*, but *Firishta* says (ii, 316) that he gave information to the garrison out of pity for them.

³⁸⁰ Shaikhûji or Shaikhû Bâbâ was Akbar's pet name for his oldest son, prince Salim, afterwards the emperor Jahāngir. This passage illustrates the extent to which the army was honeycombed with treason. Akbar had ordered that Ahmadnagar should be captured, but because the drunken and disaffected Salim was loth that his brother Murād should gain glory in the Dakan, many of the *amîrs* were determined that the siege should not be carried to a successful conclusion. Other influences were at work. The Khânkhânân, who was a Shiah, was unwilling to drive the Shiah dynasty of Ahmadnagar to extremities and was perhaps implicated in the treachery of the Shiah Khyāja Muhammad Khân.

³⁸¹ So also *Firishta* (ii, 316) but in the *Akbarnāma* it is said that only thirty yards of the wall were destroyed.

there was also a large body of the defenders engaged in countermining close to the wall, many of these also were killed by the stones. Other bodies of the defenders, who were further from the wall, when they saw the great breach made by the mines, fled³⁸² for fear of falling stones, and some betook themselves to the palace of Chānd Bibi Sultān. The *amirs* and officers of the army, who had been in their own quarters when they heard of the great disaster that had happened, hastened at once, in confusion, in the direction of the breach. Of these, Mujāhid-ud-dīn Shamsūr Khān and Mubārīz-ud-dīn Abhang Khān arrived first at the breach, and with arrow, sword, and spear opposed the entry of the Mughuls. Next came Muḥammad Khān and his sons and relations, Multān Khān, Ahmad Shāh,³⁸³ 'Alī Shīr Khān, and the rest of the *amirs* and officers, one after the other, and occupied and held the breach against the enemy. A number of the principal Foreign officers, such as Afzal Khān, Maulānā Muḥammad, the ambassador of Muḥammad Qulī Qutb Shāh, Sayyid Mir Muḥammad Zamān, Mir Sayyid 'Alī Astarābādī, and Khvāja Husain Kirmānī, who, on account of the great valour which he displayed on this day, received the title of Tir Andāz Khān, and all the rest of the Foreigners who were in their quarters and received news of what had happened, made with all speed for the breach and drove back the enemy with showers of arrows. Then some of the chief Foreign officers, among whom were the ambassadors of the other kings of the Dakan, went, by the advice of the nobles of the state, to the royal palace, and brought forth Chānd Bibi Sultān and brought her to the breach, where all the fighting was taking place. When the warriors saw the queen under the royal umbrella their courage increased a thousandfold and they drove back the enemy from the breach with a heavy fire of artillery and musketry and with showers of arrows. A heavy fire of artillery and musketry and showers of hand grenades were also rained on the enemy from the bastions, and this drove them from the ditch. So strenuous was the effort made by those who were loyal to the NiẒām Shāhī dynasty that Muḥammad Lāri, ambassador of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II, although he was quite ignorant of artillery, climbed in the heat of the fight, to the top of one of the bastions and set light to his patched robe, with which he fired several guns, doing great execution among the enemy. As soon as the news of the progress of Chānd Bibi Sultān in person to the breach was spread abroad, all men, both great and small, old and young, hastened thither in such numbers that the mass of them closed the breach, and they fought manfully together. They say that when Chānd Bibi Sultān reached the neighbourhood of the breach a number of elephant drivers drove their elephants in front of her that they might form a defence for her against the enemy. She, however, trusting entirely on God, forbade the elephant drivers to drive the elephants in front of her, and said, "Although suicide is unlawful and is repugnant to both reason and the holy law, I have brought with me a cup of poison in order that if (which God forbid) the enemy should take the fortress, I may drink the poison and so free myself from my enemies. Nevertheless, since it is certainly possible to attain martyrdom by means of wounds inflicted by the enemies of the faith and of the state, why should I attempt to avoid wounds given by the enemy?" Having regard to the sincerity and singleheartedness of Chānd Bibi Sultān, God saved from capture the fortress, which had actually already, one might almost say, fallen into the enemy's hands; and His decree for its safety issued. Thus, at the time when the wall was blown up, although the whole of the Mughul army was drawn up, ready and thirsting for the fray, and although many of the defenders who were near the breach were killed by the stones, and the rest fled, so that until the arrival of Mujāhid-ud-dīn Shamsūr Khān and Mubārīz-ud-dīn Abhang Khān the breach was void of defenders, in accordance with God's will Šādiq Muḥammad Khān, expecting

³⁸² Among these were the son of 'Alī Shāh Murtazā, afterwards Murtazā NiẒām Shāh II, Abhang Khān, Shamsūr Khān, and Afzal Khān. F. ii, 316.

³⁸³ This Ahmad Shāh must not be confounded with Miẓān Manjū's candidate for the throne. He was probably a Sayyid, to whom the title of Shāh is often given in India.

the explosion of other mines and the destruction of another section of the wall, would not allow all his men to rush into the breach at once and thus gain the victory with ease, while the small force which rushed into the ditch in front of the others, and reached the breach, halted when they found that none followed them, and by the time that the rest of the Mughul army had given up all hope of the explosion of other mines and of the destruction of more of the wall, the garrison had returned to the breach and were prepared to confront their enemy, and thus slew most of that force of the Mughuls which had entered the breach. While the battle was at its height an arrow struck Afzal Khân in the breast, but the ease of a talisman which he was wearing stopped the arrow and he received no manner of hurt. The rest of the Mughul army, seeing how the fight went, did not venture into the ditch but stood drawn up along its edge, as though fighting with the wall, and the battle waxed fierce. Although the Mughul army fought most fiercely and bravely, fate had decreed that they should not gain the victory, and they therefore gained nothing but shame for all their pains. Large numbers of them were slain by arrows, stones, gunshot and musketry, while many more were severely wounded and returned lamenting. The battle raged for the last four hours of the day until sunset, when the enemy retreated without having gained any advantage, and fell back out of the range of the heavy fire and retired to their quarters.

Chând Bibi Sultân, however, remained where she was, and directed the builders to repair the wall of the fort and its foundations, and exercised such close supervision over them that on that very day the builders rebuilt the wall of mud and stones to the height of four yards, thus closing the breach to the enemy, heaping grenades and gunpowder behind the wall to act as a sufficient obstacle to the enemy. The queen next turned her attention to the defenders of the fort, who now had some respite from the fray, and encouraged them to further efforts by acts of royal favour and generosity. Of the Foreigners, Khvâja Husain Kirmânî, who had displayed great valour and done great execution with his bow, sending many of the bravest of the enemy to the next world, was honoured with the title of Tîr Andâz Khân, and Hasan Âqâ Turkman received the title of Qizilbâsh Khân. Chând Bibi Sultân then exhorted all the troops to be watchful and on their guards, and then returned to her quarters.

Shâh Murâd, whose prestige had received a severe blow and whose object had not been attained, was plunged in thought and anxiety, and shed tears of disappointment. He took council with his *amîrs* touching the reduction of the fortress until the morning. At sunrise Shâh Murâd again drew up his forces and advanced towards the breach. When he reached the ditch he wished to press on to the attack of the fortress at once, but a number of his *amîrs*, who were in attendance on him, seized his reins and prevented him from entering the ditch or from engaging personally in the fight. Following the advice of his loyal friends, the prince dismounted from his horse at the edge of the ditch and urged his troops on to battle, encouraging them with promises of favour and advancement. He sent one of his officers to the Khânkhânân to ask him for help, but the Khânkhânân, making his former *franchise* his pretext, refrained from participating in the battle, and the prince in his zeal and personal pride, ordered his own troops to attack the fortress with the utmost vigour and to *be the* men. A body of *Aladîs* and special *mansabdârs*, who were the bravest of the Mughul army, attacked the fort with the utmost determination.³⁶¹ The defenders were *much* encouraged by the success which they had had the day before, in spite of the ruin of *some* of the wall, and also by their success in repairing the damage done and by the *thought* that they had so piled explosives against the wall as to make it like the gate of hell. They *then* *made*

³⁶¹ *Aladîs* were troopers of a superior class, like the *mansabdârs* of the Mughul army. *Mansabdârs* were officers commanding less than 200 horse. *Aladîs* were ranked as *gawrs*.

the army of the Dakan, which was very numerous and strong, was approaching prepared for battle, and that as it was now hopeless to attempt to take the fort, they should enter into some sort of an armistice with the garrison of the fortress and on this pretext retire from before it, and then march to meet Suhail Khân's army.

Sayyid Murtaẓâ,³⁸⁸ who was an old servant and subject of the Nizâm Shâhî dynasty, and ever bore in mind the favours which he had received from them, was appointed to arrange the terms of peace. Sayyid Murtaẓâ, on the advice of the prince and the *amîrs*, sent a letter to the fort, to the chief officers of state, asking them to send out an envoy empowered to treat for peace in order that some settlement might be arrived at, and the prince might entirely raise the siege and retire from before the fortress. Now although the garrison were hard pressed for want of food and provisions and earnestly desired peace—so much so that they could hardly refrain from agreeing to it on any terms, yet they thought that they perceived indications in the way in which Sayyid Murtaẓâ's letter was written, of weakness and supplication, for, since the invaders had failed in their object and now came suing for peace, the defenders were more hopeful of ultimate victory and success, and, lest the enemy should attribute too ready an acceptance of terms to a conviction of defeat, they wrote an answer to Sayyid Murtaẓâ saying that if a trustworthy agent were sent from the Mughul camp to the court of the *Salanat* and the *Khilâfat* to arrange the terms of peace, an ambassador would likewise be sent from the court to the camp in order that the terms might be concluded.

Sayyid Murtaẓâ then sent Mir Hâshim of Madinah, the *Bakhshî* of his corps, who was distinguished above his fellows for acumen, valour and ability, to the royal court, where he remained for ten days without receiving leave to depart, so that the Mughul *amîrs* became hopeless of a settlement, and disquieting rumours obtained currency in their camp. At length, however, the garrison prepared suitable gifts for Shâh Murâd, the Khânkhânân, Shahbâz Khân, and Sâdiq Muḥammad Khân. As the sincerity, purity of disposition, and complete good faith of 'Umdat-ul-Mulk, Afzal Khân Qumî, who was one of the pillars of the state and the most famous man of the kingdom, and had received the appointment of ambassador, in which he had rendered noteworthy services and displayed both wisdom and acumen, were agreed upon by all, Chând Bibî Sulṭân, by way of acknowledging his excellent services in general, but especially during the period of the siege, in which he had earned the approbation of all, appointed him *Nâ'ib* and *Pishvâ* of the kingdom, with the honourable title of Changiz Khân. He was likewise now appointed ambassador to Shâh Murâd, in order that by his wisdom and diplomatic ability peace might be concluded. In like manner Mir Muḥammad Zamân Rizâvî, Mashhadî, was appointed envoy to the Khânkhânân, and Sayyid Shâh Bahrâm Astarâbâdî was appointed envoy to Shahbâz Khân, to treat for peace. On Sunday, Rajab 10 (March 11, A.D. 1596) which day was the beginning of happier times, these envoys left the fort in accordance with the royal command and set about the business of their mission. When news of the dispatch of the embassy reached Shâh Murâd, he commanded that the envoys should be lodged in the camp of Sayyid Murtaẓâ, in order that, when he should summon them, Sayyid Murtaẓâ might produce them before him. He then sent a messenger to summon the Khânkhânân, Shahbâz Khân, Râja 'Alî Khân, Sâdiq Muḥammad Khân, and the rest of the great officers and *amîrs*, and held a court at which the envoys might fitly be received. Sayyid Murtaẓâ then introduced Afzal Khân, now styled Changiz Khân, Mir Muḥammad Zamân and Shâh Bahrâm, and presented them to the prince. After the envoys had performed the *kûrnish* and *taslim* which are the forms of salutation observed at the court of the Chaghatâi Pâdshâhs, the prince and the Khânkhânân called them up and asked them the cause of the warfare and the object of their mission, and then began to speak of peace. Afzal-ul-Khawânin

³⁸⁸ This was Sayyid Murtaẓâ Sabzavârî, who had been governor of Berar in the reign of Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh I, had attempted to overthrow Şalâbat Khân, and on being defeated by him, had fled from the Dakan and taken refuge at Akbar's court. He was now commander of 1,000 horse in Akbar's service.

destroying the lives of both, the evil and the good, both bond and free, and overthrowing them. A succession of calamities destroyed the peaceful country of this party and threw it into such confusion as reigns in the country of an unjust king, so that peace and prosperity disappeared from the earth and from the age and were succeeded by oppression and rebellion.

When fate took pity on the ruined remnant, and the intercession of Farhâd Khân, like the prayer of 'Isâ, revived them, some who had the strength and means to travel were dispersed among the various cities and countries, while a small body, hungry and naked, cast down from their former place by weakness and inanition, gathered together in the eunuchs' quarters and ever prayed to God for the arrival of His Majesty the Sâhib Qirân,³²⁰ the protector of Foreigners.

The rebellion having been thus suppressed, Jamâl Khân hastened to the house of Farhâd Khân and endeavoured to induce him to enter into an agreement with a view to their holding the office of *vakîl* and *pîshvâ* jointly, but Farhâd Khân would not accept this proposal and said that Qâsim Beg was the man for the office and that they ought to free him from prison and entrust the administration of the kingdom to him. When Jamâl Khân saw that Farhâd Khân would not co-operate with him in the office of *vakîl* and was convinced that he himself could not possibly become *vakîl* without the co-operation and consent of Farhâd Khân, he applauded Farhâd Khân's resolution, and it was decided that they should both go to court together the next day and give effect to whatever arrangement was best for the kingdom. But when Jamâl Khân left Farhâd Khân's house he resolved to imprison him.

The next day Jamâl Khân brought a body of his troops armed into the fort and stationed a company over the gate with orders to prevent any of Farhâd's men from entering the fort with him.

Early in the morning Farhâd Khân, as had been agreed, set out for the fort, and when he entered the fort he had no more than a few men with him, and as soon as he had made his obeisance to Ismâ'il Nizâm Shâh, Jamâl Khân placed a guard over him and led the young king forth from the fort in royal state. Without the fort were the troops of Farhâd Khân, who were ignorant of what had befallen their leader. They were honoured by being permitted to pay their homage, and some of them received posts in the royal service, while others were promised higher rank and better pay, so that all were drawn by interest towards Jamâl Khân.

This faithless gang now forgot all that they owed to Farhâd Khân and went over to Jamâl Khân and entered his service.

When Jamâl Khân had led the young king through the streets and bazars for some time and had given the populace the opportunity of paying their homage to him, he took him back to the fort and again seated him on the throne. He then made Farhâd Khân over to a trusty body of his own troops and sent him to the fortress of Râjûri.³²¹

To fill Farhâd Khân's place Jamâl Khân selected Yâqût, who had belonged to Maulânâ 'Inâyatullâh and was distinguished no less by valour and courage than by goodness of disposition and beauty of person, and raised him to the rank of *amîr* and to the command of the army, conferring on him the title of Khudâvand Khân. In order to strengthen the friendship between himself and Khudâvand Khân he betrothed his daughter to the son of Khudâvand Khân and gave a banquet on the occasion which was honoured by the young king's presence, continuing the festivities for several days and extending his hospitality to all, both gentle and simple. He also promoted some of the Dakanîs and Africans to the rank of *amîrs* and officers, by this means ingratiating himself with them and ensuring the tenure of all power in the state by these two classes.

³²⁰ Burhân Nizâm Shâh II.

³²¹ Perhaps Rahûri, in 19° 24' N. and 74° 40' E.

Among the *amîrs* who were promoted by Jamâl Khân above their fellows was, in the first place, Shâh Abû Turâb, the maternal uncle of the young king; then Amjad-ul-Mulk, the *Mahdavis*, who was made *amîr-ul-umarâ* of Berar. Then came Khân Malik, who was appointed *sar-i-naubat*, then Nizâm Khân Nishâbûrî, Sone Khân, Kâmil Khân and others, who were promoted to be *amîrs* and officers. Likewise Miyân Aminullah Burhânpûrî, who had formerly been in the service of Khudâvand Khân of Berar and had been his lieutenant in his civil governorship, received the title of Amin Khân, the rank of *vazîr*, and a governorship, and I'timâd Khân, the brother of Khattât Khân Daulatâbâdî, received the appointment of *Sar-i-Khail* and the other *Mahdavis*, likewise the friends and assistants of Jamâl Khân were appointed to appointments suited to their abilities and to rank suitable to their positions.

CIV.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE RELEASE OF ŞALÂBAT KHÂN FROM THE FORTRESS OF KHERLA BY MUHAMMAD KHÂN, THE *Amîr-ul-Umarâ* OF BERAR, AND OF THE GATHERING TOGETHER OF THE *Amîrs* UNDER HIM AGAINST JÂMÂL KHÂN.

A.D. 1589. At the time when Jamâl Khân was stirring up all this strife in Ahmadnagar, Muhammad Khân, *sar-i-naubat*, was *amîr-ul-umarâ* of Berar and every Foreigner who could escape from the city found a refuge in Berar, until Muhammad Khân had assembled a large army. As he was apprehensive of Jamâl Khân, and some of those in the capital had sought help from the *amîrs* of Berar against Jamâl Khân, some of the *amîrs*, such as Bahrî Khân, Ikhâlâs Khân 'Aziz-ul-Mulk and others, assembled to take counsel together. They decided to set Şalâbat Khân free and to make him their ruler, and then to employ themselves in overthrowing Jamâl Khân and the *Mahdavis*. They therefore sent a messenger to Sayyid Muza'ffar Khân Mâzandarânî, governor of the fort of Kherla, telling him of what had passed among them. Muza'ffar Khân approved of the policy of the *amîrs* and released Şalâbat Khân from imprisonment and sent him to the *amîrs*. The *amîrs* received Şalâbat Khân with great honour and professed obedience to him. They then collected their troops and marched towards Ahmadnagar. On their way thither Bahâdur Khân Gilânî and other Foreigners of the court, who had escaped from Ahmadnagar at the time of the fighting, met them, and attached themselves to Şalâbat Khân's army.

When the news of Şalâbat Khân's release from Kherla, of the confederacy of the *amîrs* and of their march towards the capital reached the misguided Jamâl Khân, he, inasmuch as his power was not yet firmly established, and he could not trust the royal army, became disturbed and apprehensive, and began to spend money freely, bestowing largesse on both poor and rich and making them all wealthy, until he was able to assemble a large army. He then sent forward the young king's *pîshkhâna* towards Berar, and taking the young king with him, set out with his army in the same direction.

Jamâl Khân reached the town of Shivgaon³²² and encamped before it with the prince, and hence were issued letters to the *amîrs* who were with Şalâbat Khân, promising them not only forgiveness but also promotion in the royal service if they would leave Şalâbat Khân.

When Şalâbat Khân reached the town of Paithan, a number of the *amîrs*, such as Ikhâlâs Khân, 'Aziz-ul-Mulk and others, owing to relationships which are the cause of mutual attraction, disgraced themselves by violating their agreement, and fled from Şalâbat Khân's camp at midnight. Şalâbat Khân sent Bahâdur Khân with a number of Foreigners in pursuit of the fugitives, and Bahâdur Khân came up with them and captured and turned back 'Aziz-ul-Mulk and his brothers, but Şalâbat Khân, dreading the effects of the wiles of the Africans and Dakanîs and the strife which they had occasioned in his camp, considered it

inadvisable to meet Jamāl Khān in the field, and without making any attempt to gain honour in battle, began to retreat towards Berar. The rest of Ṣalābat Khān's army, who had placed confidence in the promises made by Jamāl Khān, now left Ṣalābat Khān and hastened to join Jamāl Khān.

When Jamāl Khān heard of the retreat of Ṣalābat Khān, he marched from Shivgāon and encamped before Paithān, and sent a body of Kolis to pursue Ṣalābat Khān and Muḥammad Khān. This body of Kolis hastened in pursuit of Ṣalābat Khān, Bahri Khān, Muḥammad Khān, and the other Foreigners who had not dared to face Jamāl Khān and took from them their horses and elephants, while the inhabitants of the province of Berar also rose against them and reduced them to great straits. With great difficulty, and after suffering many hardships, they contrived to reach the frontier of Burhānpūr, where they were safe from Jamāl Khān. Rāja 'Alī Khān, the ruler of Burhānpūr, sent safe conducts for Ṣalābat Khān, Muḥammad Khān, and Bahri Khān, and also sent fodder for their animals and assigned to each a dwelling in Burhānpūr, shewing them much courtesy and kindness.

In the course of this quarrel between Ṣalābat Khān and Jamāl Khān, Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II had marched into the Nizām Shāhī kingdom with a great army. Jamāl Khān, therefore, as soon as he was free from anxiety regarding Ṣalābat Khān, marched from Paithān with his army against the 'Adil Shāhī army, and when the two armies came within striking distance of one another,³²³ they remained for a long time facing one another without venturing into the field. Jamāl Khān, who was not strong enough to withstand Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh, opened negotiations for peace and strove to keep himself clear of any appeal to arms, and as the 'Adil Shāhī army was stronger than Ismā'il Nizām Shāh's army, they, rendered arrogant by their superiority, demanded the cession of Parenda and other forts as the price of peace. At length Nūr Khān went from Jamāl Khān's army into the 'Adil Shāhī camp and did his utmost to extinguish the fire of strife, offering a large sum as *na'ī bahā* ³²⁴ on condition that the 'Adil Shāhī army returned to its own country. Jamāl Khān sent the promised sum and the 'Adil Shāhī army retreated to Bijāpūr.

When the army had returned to Ahmadnagar, Jamāl Khān, who had been made suspicious of the remnant of the Foreigners by the revolt of Ṣalābat Khān, first considered plans for the massacre of them, and afterwards, moved by the intercession of Khudāvand Khān, gave them their lives, but banished them from the country and appointed a body of men to collect all Foreigners from their hiding places into one place. He then sent some to Bijāpūr,³²⁵ some to Golconda, and some to Chaul and other ports, but would give permission to none to go to Mālwa to pay his respects to the Ṣāhib Qirān.

Of the great men and officers among the Foreigners, Shāh Rafī'ud-dīn Husain, Shāh Haidar, Qāsim Beg, Mīr Sharīf Gilānī, Sayyid Muḥammad Samanānī and Mīrzā Muqīm Rizavī were sent to Mecca. Jamāl Khān then took his seat on the *masnad* of the *vakil*, nay, rather on the throne of the kingdom, with none to oppose or gainsay him, and bestowed much honour on the *Mahdavi* sect, the heretical belief of which is that

³²³ At Āshtī. F. ii, 295.

³²⁴ The amount of *na'ī bahā* fixed was 70,000 (F. ii, 295) or 75,000 (F. ii, 116) *hans*. Another condition of the treaty was that Khadijah Sulṭān, widow of Husain Nizām Shāh II and sister of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II, should be sent back to Bijāpūr.

³²⁵ It was now, Dec. 28, 1589, that the historian Muḥammad Qāsim Firishta fled from Ahmadnagar to Bijāpūr, where he entered the service of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II.

Sayyid Muḥammad of Jaunpûr was the promised Mahdî.³²⁶ He promoted several of these heretics to the ranks of *amîrs* and *vazīrs*, and placed every member of the sect above the reach of want.

In the meantime news reached the wretch Jamâl that the Sâhib Qirân had crossed the frontier of Mâlwa with a very large army, and was marching on his capital.³²⁷

Immediately after hearing this news Jamâl Khân received a royal *farmân* addressed to him, promising him a continuance and an increase of the favours which he enjoyed, and inviting him to appear at the royal camp to do homage. But the wretched Jamâl Khân was deaf and blind to what was to his own interest and to the interest of the people at large, and he not only refused to go to the royal camp, but raised the standard of rebellion, and from his mistaken view regarding the prince (Ismâ'il Nizâm Shâh), refused to be guided into the way of obedience until his disobedience overwhelmed him and many others, his friends, in ruin.

When the wicked Jamâl Khân heard of the intention of Burhân Nizâm Shâh to march to his capital, he sent several of the greatest *amîrs* into the province of Berar, and with them a strong army to defend that province. He appointed Amjad-ul-Mulk, the *Mahdavi*, the greatest recipient of his trust and confidence, *Amîr-ul-umardâ* of that province, and bade him exercise the utmost caution, telling him that if Şalâbat Khân should go to make his obeisance to Burhân Nizâm Shâh or should go to Akbar's court, it was possible that the allegiance of the *amîrs* of Ahmadnagar would be much shaken, and that he should therefore send to Şalâbat Khân a promise of safety, fortified by bonds and agreements, and a promise of increase of favour and dignity from Ismâ'il Nizâm Shâh. He also wrote to Râja 'Alî Khân, the ruler of Burhânpûr, requesting him to urge Şalâbat Khân to return to Ahmadnagar.

In the meantime the *farmân* of Burhân Nizâm Shâh summoning Şalâbat Khân reached him from Hindiya. As it was not Şalâbat Khân's good fortune to be guided into the way that would have been best for him in the end, and as it was not given to him to

³²⁶ Early in the tenth century of the *Hijrah* era Sayyid Muḥammad of Jaunpûr claimed to be the promised Mahdî. He died in A.H. 910 (A.D. 1504-05) while returning from a pilgrimage to Mecca, but not before he had gained many adherents, including Mahmûd I of Gujarat. The movement was continued by Shaikh 'Alâ'i of Biyâna who, in the reign of Islâm Shâh Sûr of Dillî (1545-1553), travelled to Hindiya for the purpose of propagating his doctrine in the Dakan and gained many converts. Thence the doctrines spread to Ahmadnagar. Firishṭa is mistaken in saying that Sayyid Muḥammad died in A.D. 1553 to be the Mahdî. The followers of Sayyid Muḥammad and Shaikh 'Alâ'i were acknowledged Sunnis, for the Shî'ahs believe that the Mahdî is alive but concealed, and Firishṭa says that Jamâl Khân, on establishing the Mahdavi heresy, abolished the Shî'ah *Khutbah*. He also says that many Mahdavis came from northern India to serve in a state where their religion had been established, for they had been persecuted early in Akbar's reign, and were still regarded as unorthodox.

³²⁷ This is a mistake. Akbar, on learning of the elevation of Ismâ'il Nizâm Shâh to the throne of Ahmadnagar, recalled the young king's father from Bangash, where he was employed, and sent him that his son had usurped his throne, and offered him an army that he might restore him. Burhân refused the offer, saying that his appearance at the head of a foreign army would shake the throne of the Sultan as well as his. Akbar therefore permitted him to leave his court with a few followers in order that he might make an appeal to the loyalty of his subjects. Akbar's historians assert that Burhân promised, in the event of success, to cede Berar, but this is not to be credited, for Burhân had nothing but Akbar's promise, which was hardly a *quid pro quo* for a rich and fertile province. Burhân of course stated that he was going to depart by a formal promise that he would hold Ahmadnagar as a *ḥaf* of the empire, but the promise was never kept, and Akbar complained bitterly of Burhân's ingratitude.

After Şalâbat Khân's death, news came to Jamâl Khân that Burhân Nizâm Shâh's army had entered Berar by way of Gondwâra.³³¹ Jamâl Khân, on hearing this news, was much perturbed, and at once set to work to prepare his army for the field. In the meantime fresh news was received to the effect that Jahângir Khân,³³² the African, one of the *amirs* of Berar, had dared to disobey the orders of Burhân Nizâm Shâh and had even ventured to withstand him by force of arms, and as, in accordance with the saying, "everything is postponed to its proper time," some delay occurred in Burhân Nizâm Shâh's career of victory, Chaghatâi Khân, who was one of the bravest of the Mughul army, was killed by a musket shot, and his troops, when they saw their leader killed, fled at once from the field. The wretch, Jamâl Khân, was much rejoiced by the receipt of this news and began to prepare for the downfall of the kingdom of Ahmadnagar, and wrote a hypocritical and deceiving letter to Burhân Nizâm Shâh, saying that quarrels had broken out between the Foreigners and the Dakanis, and that a number of the former who were in the royal service were afraid to pay their respects at court. He proposed, therefore, that Burhân Nizâm Shâh should come alone to the capital in order that the Foreigners might have no further excuse to delay coming to court and submitting to the royal commands. As the words of Jamâl Khân were far from the truth, they appeared to Burhân Nizâm Shâh to be exactly like the excuses for their enmity given to 'Ali by Talhah and Zubair,³³³ and he paid no attention to them, but marched from the town of Hindiya to the village of Kandoya,³³⁴ which is near Burhânpûr, where he occupied himself day and night in forming plans for the conquest of his hereditary dominions, the result of which plans will be shortly narrated.

CV.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE COMING OF IBRÂHİM 'ÂDİL SHÂH II TO THE ASSISTANCE OF
BURHÂN NIZÂM SHÂH, AND OF HIS BATTLE WITH JAMÂL KHÂN.

When Burhân Nizâm Shâh had established his camp at Khândwa he sent letters to the Sultans of the Dakin, summoning all of them to his aid. Ibrâhīm 'Âdil Shâh II, guided by God's grace and on the advice of Dilâvar Khân, who was the *rakîl* of the kingdom of Bijâpûr, girded up his loins to assist Burhân Nizâm Shâh, and marched with a very large army from Bijâpûr.³³⁵

Râja 'Ali Khân, the ruler of Burhânpûr, when he heard of the march of Ibrâhīm 'Âdil Shâh from Bijâpûr, resolved to assist Burhân Nizâm Shâh, and came forth to meet the latter before Asirgâh, offered him *pishkash* and entertained him at the feast, and then marched, in company with him, into Berar. The wretch Jamâl Khân heard of Ibrâhīm 'Âdil Shâh's departure from Bijâpûr and also of the invasion of Berar by Burhân

³³¹ That is to say, through the Sâtpûras, the country of the Korkus, not of the Gonds.

³³² Jahângir Khân, whose fiefs lay on the northern border of Berar, adjoining Khândesh, responded to Burhân's first appeal by promising to support his cause, and thus encouraged him to enter Berar with the small force at his disposal, but for some unexplained reason, probably owing to the presence of a few imperial officers among Burhân's companions, turned against him and attacked him. Burhân was defeated and fled to Hindiya, and thence to the court of Râja 'Ali Khân of Khândesh.

³³³ Talhah and Zubair were two of the six electors appointed by the Caliph 'Umar to elect his successor. The choice fell upon 'Uthmân, much to the disappointment of 'Ali, who was himself one of the electors. Zubair, however, voted for 'Ali. Afterwards, in A.H. 36 (Aug. A.D. 656), when 'Ali, then Caliph, declared war against Mu'aviyyah, Talhah and Zubair deserted him.

³³⁴ Khandwa, now headquarters of the Nimâr District of the Central Provinces, situated in 21° 50' N. and 76° 22' E.

³³⁵ Sayyid 'Ali's account of Burhân's proceedings dislocates the order of events. Burhân's cause had been commended by Akbar to Râja 'Ali Khân of Khândesh, but when Burhân, after his first ill-advised attempt to gain his throne, appealed to Râja 'Ali Khân, the latter counselled him to avoid employing imperial troops, whose presence would only raise the whole of the Dakan against him, and undertook to obtain for him the aid of Ibrâhīm of Bijâpûr, or rather of Dilâvar Khân the African, in whose hands Ibrâhīm was a puppet. He fulfilled his promise, and Dilâvar Khân not only assisted Burhân by creating a diversion to the south of Ahmadnagar, but exhorted the *amirs* of Berar to espouse his cause.—F ii, 119

Nizâm Shâh and Râja 'Alî Khân, the ruler of Burhânpûr, and thus found the whirlpool of destruction closing in upon him on every side. He regarded the business of confronting Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh as the more urgent and, taking with him the prince Ismâ'il, marched against the Bijâpûrîs with nearly 10,000 horse. When the two armies met, at the village of Kârî-nâri, the news of the arrival of Burhân Nizâm Shâh in Berar and of the submission to him of the principal *amîrs* of that province, on whom Jamâl Khân specially relied, was received; but Jamâl Khân, lest the news should spread in the army and cause it to disperse, caused the kettledrums to be beaten and circulated the news that Burhân Nizâm Shâh had been defeated, while he himself prepared for battle with the 'Âdil Shâhîs.

That night Abhang Khân the African, who was one of Jamâl Khân's principal *amîrs*, fled with his troops from Jamâl Khân's camp to the 'Âdil Shâhî camp, and thence to Berar, where he joined Burhân Nizâm Shâh's army.

Although the flight of Abhang Khân and the news of the submission of the *amîrs* of Berar to Burhân Nizâm Shâh combined to shake the resolution of the foolish Jamâl Khân, the obstinacy of ignorance was sufficient to keep him steadfast in his plans, and on the next day he prepared to attack the Bijâpûrî army. Dilâvar Khân, leaving Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh in camp, marched with the army to repulse Jamâl Khân.

When the two armies were drawn up, the warriors on either side prepared to attack their enemies. Bahâdur Khân Gilânî and the Foreigners, who had escaped from the battle with Jamâl Khân and had taken refuge in the Bijâpûr kingdom, charged Jamâl Khân's army. Jamâl Khân's gunners, who had drawn up their heavy guns in front of his army so as to form an impenetrable barrier, now fired. The noise and smoke were tremendous, but as the guns were on an eminence and the 'Âdil Shâhî troops were in a hollow, the fire passed harmlessly over their heads, and the valiant Foreigners charged up to the guns, broke the line of carriages, and then fell on Jamâl Khân's force and attacked it bravely. At this juncture 'Ain-ul-Mulk and Ankas Khân, who were the foremost of the 'Âdil Shâhî army, came round behind Jamâl Khân's army, plundered his baggage and dispersed his army, so that most of Jamâl Khân's troops broke and fled. Jamâl Khân then, with a body of picked cavalry who had withdrawn from the field in good order, observed that most of the 'Âdil Shâhî army was engaged in gathering the spoils and collecting the beasts of the army of Ahmadnagar and that Dilâvar Khân, with a small force, remained in order on the field. He, therefore, taking advantage of the opportunity thus offered, fell on Dilâvar Khân like a thunder-clap and slew many of his men. Dilâvar Khân, although he strove manfully to meet the attack, was unable to keep his men together, and they fled, leaving their elephants, horses, tents, and camp equipage, and Dilâvar Khân himself escaped with difficulty.³³⁶

³³⁶ The army of Bijâpûr advanced to Naldurg and then to Dhârâsiv, in Ahmadnagar territory. Jamâl Khân, taking with him Ismâ'il Nizâm Shâh, marched southwards and occupied an extremely strong position some miles to the north of Dhârâsiv. Dilâvar Khân, misled by reports to the effect that Dilâvar Khân meditated flight, incautiously advanced, with 30,000 horse ill prepared for battle, in the hope of capturing Jamâl Khân. So defective was his system of intelligence that when he saw Jamâl Khân's camp, he suspected it to be that of his own master, Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, with whom he had lost touch. He had only just discovered that it was the enemy's camp when a courtier arrived with a message from Ibrâhîm ordering him not to attack, as he was not prepared, but to await reinforcements. He was inclined to repent his rashness, but his pride would not allow him to withdraw, and he trusted to his superiority in numbers and to Jamâl Khân's sense of weakness as betrayed in his determined efforts to patch up a peace. He therefore pushed on across the difficult and broken ground which lay between him and the enemy. The desertion of Abhang Khân decided Jamâl Khân to fight, for he perceived that if he remained inactive, all his partisans would fall away one by one, and as Dilâvar Khân had sent his Marâthha troops to the rear of the camp to cut off supplies, immediate action was necessary. On Feb. 28, 1591, Dilâvar Khân's force, having crossed the broken ground which lay between him and the enemy, arrived within striking distance in the greatest disorder. 'Ain-ul-Mulk Kan'ânî, Ankas Khân and other *amîrs* commanding the wings, knowing that Dilâvar Khân was in disfavour and was fighting against orders, fled with their contingents, with the intention of informing Ibrâhîm that Dilâvar Khân's disobedience had involved the army in defeat. Dilâvar Khân, though much embarrassed by the desertion of these *amîrs*, still had a large force under his command, and pressed on to the attack—F ii, 121—124.

When the fugitives arrived at Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāhī's camp, he seeing that no stand could then be made against the enemy, fled to the fortress of Naldrug, and halted nowhere until he reached that fortress, which is seven *gāũ* distant from the battlefield, and the whole of the 'Ādil Shāhī tents, camp equipage, baggage, elephants, horses, arms, and munitions of war fell into the hands of Jamāl Khān's army. Among the spoils were nearly 200 elephants, and the rest of the spoil may be estimated on this scale. The wretch Jamāl Khān retained only the elephants and caused all the other plunder to be divided among his troops.³³⁷

The next day Jamāl Khān turned and marched northward towards Berar to meet Burhān NiẒām Shāh.³³⁸ He was puffed up with pride by his victory over the 'Ādil Shāhī army and regarded a battle with the army of Burhān NiẒām Shāh as a very easy matter. He therefore marched with great speed, covering two stages every day, little thinking that he was marching to meet his fate. The hand of fate had seized his reins and was leading him straight to the slaughter house, and he therefore passed on, intent on battle and disregarding all advice, until he reached the neighbourhood of the *ghāt* of Rohankhed.³³⁹

But before Jamāl Khān could reach the *ghāt* already named, the royal army had already seized on it, and Jamāl Khān therefore turned aside to another *ghāt*, by crossing which he would be able to attack the royal army. When Burhān NiẒām Shāh heard of the intended passage of Jamāl Khān by another *ghāt*, he was inspired to march thither to meet him, and with Rāja 'Alī Khān and the whole army, marched towards the ford for which Jamāl Khān was making. The royal army reached this ford before Jamāl Khān's arrival, and by great good fortune obtained possession of the only water which was to be found in the neighbourhood. At the hottest time of the day, when the sun was at its height, Jamāl Khān and his army descended the *ghāt* and caught sight of the royal army.

When they descended from the hills into the plains, they saw a land which resembled the plain of the resurrection in heat, and dry in the extreme. Jamāl Khān's army marched hither and thither in that dry land in search of water, but found nothing but a mirage.³⁴⁰

When Jamāl Khān found matters to be thus, he turned his heart aside from thoughts of eating and drinking, and even from those of the kingdom and of the wealth, and on that very day, Rajab 13 (May 7, A.D. 1591),³⁴¹ resolved to attack the royal army at once. In company with Khudāvand Khān he drew up his army, placing the artillery in front and the rest of the army in its rear, and then marched to attack the royal army.

It so happened that between the two armies there was an impassable slough, on the edge of which the royal artillery was drawn up in ambush, and Jamāl Khān's army, knowing nothing

³³⁷ Dilāvar Khān was left with only seven attendants, one of whom was the historian Firishṭa, who was wounded, and fled with all speed in order to forestall, if possible, those *amīrs* who had deserted him and wished to destroy him. Before reaching Naldrug he was joined by two or three thousand of his broken troops. Firishṭa, owing to his wounds, was left in Dhārāsiv and fell into the hands of Jamāl Khān, but somehow contrived to escape—F. ii, 124.

³³⁸ Rāja 'Alī Khān and Burhān were much alarmed by the news that Jamāl Khān was marching against them. They wrote to Ibrāhīm, imploring him to harass the enemy as much as possible and sent as prisoners to Asirgarh. Sayyid Amjad the *Mahdavi* and other *amīrs* of Berar whose fidelity they suspected. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, who had been eight days behind Jamāl Khān, halted at Pāthri, near the Godāvari, but sent a force of Marāṭha horse to harass him and cut off his supplies. Dilāvar Khān wished to push on towards Rohankhed, but the king would not move and the quarrel which ensued brought about Dilāvar Khān's downfall.

³³⁹ In 20° 38' N. and 76° 12' E.

³⁴⁰ Jamāl Khān, arriving within striking distance of the enemy after a long and hot march, found him in possession of the only water within view. After some search a grove of date palms was found, which contained just enough water to slake the thirst of Jamāl Khān's men and their horses. Jamāl Khān attacked as soon as his men had refreshed themselves—F. ii, 207.

³⁴¹ Firishṭa (ii, 297) agrees in this date, but the *Akbarnāma* has April 5, 1591.

received honours and rewards befitting their rank. The king's secretary wrote an account of the victory and accession, and thus spread the glad news throughout the world.

The length of the reign of the prince, Ismâ'il Nizâm Shâh, and of the tenure of office by his vakîl, Jamâl Khân, was nearly two years.

The battle of Rohankhed was fought on Rajab 13 A.H. 999 (May 7, A.D. 1591). An account of the life of Burhân Nizâm Shâh from his birth and his glorious reign until now would be so long that this book could not contain it. I will, therefore, turn my attention to writing a fresh volume for the delight of the world. I hope that his kingdom will endure as long as the sun shall shine.

CVI.—AN ACCOUNT OF BURHÂN NIZÂM SHÂH'S DESPATCH OF AN ARMY AGAINST
THE FRANKS (PORTUGUESE) AND OF SOME OF THE EVENTS WHICH
HAPPENED AT THAT TIME.

In accordance with the orders of God and the prophet, which enjoin holy wars, the king was ever occupying his mind with thoughts of waging holy wars against infidels and misbelievers and in designs of conquest. But especially did he desire to uproot and overthrow those causes of strife and mischief, the wicked Portuguese, whose tyranny had laid waste countries and cities, and against whose oppression both bond and free cried aloud, and who were thus more obnoxious to the king than other polytheists, for this irreligious nation is distinguished above other polytheists and heretics by its great power and majesty, and Musalmans are ever suffering at their hands.

The late king, Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh, had, in the early part of his reign, led an army against the Portuguese in Revdanda and had besieged that fortress for a long time, in the course of which much fighting took place between the royal army and the Portuguese, and most of the dwellings of the polytheists were destroyed by artillery fire, while many of the Musalmans attained martyrdom. But at length the king, being annoyed with some of the *amîrs* and officers of state who had entered into correspondence with the Portuguese, and in accordance with agreements entered into with them, had hung back in the day of battle, had abandoned the siege and returned to his capital and had punished the treacherous *amîrs*, as has already been related. Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh had had no other opportunity of avenging himself on the misbelievers, and from that time until the time of his ascending the throne, it had been the desire of Burhân Nizâm Shâh to take revenge on the misbelievers and polytheists, and he had been meditating a holy war against that irreligious and evil tribe.

One of the ships of Burhân Nizâm Shâh, named the "Husainî," was sailing from Mecca to the port on Murtaẓâ-âbâd Chaul with a large number of Musalmans and much treasure and property on board and had been sucked into a whirlpool and sunk in the neighbourhood of the port of Vaîsî which is in the possession of the Portuguese, and the Portuguese had recovered most of the treasure and property by means of divers, and had thus opened the doors of war in their faces.³⁴⁵ Fahîm Khân, who was governor of that district and was, by the royal command, engaged in endeavouring to recover the cargo of the ship, reported the affair to the king, and the report aroused the king's old zeal against the Christians, and a command was issued that as Fahîm Khân was well acquainted with the circumstances and conditions of that part of the country and of its forts and strongholds, he should repair immediately to court. Fahîm Khân obeyed the order and travelled in great haste to court. On his arrival the king questioned him regarding all the circumstances and conditions of that country, and then commanded that the map-makers of court should draw an accurate map

³⁴⁵ This provocation is not mentioned by Firîshṭa. The Portuguese account says:—"This action (the attack on Revdanda) was taken by the Nizamaluo (Burhân Nizâm Shâh), notwithstanding the treaty that still existed between him and the Portuguese, which had been concluded by Francisco Barreto; but he justified his action in this respect on the ground of certain complaints which he preferred against the present governor, Matthias de Albuquerque"—Danvers, ii. 89. 'Vaîsî' was perhaps Bassein.

of the village of Revdanda, of Chaul and of the hill of Kârla,³⁴⁶ which is opposite to these villages and commands them, and should submit it to him. The order was obeyed, and a very accurate map was drawn and submitted to the king. The king then decided that the troops should first build a fort on the Kârla hill and should garrison it and mount guns in it in order to strike terror into the hearts of the polytheists and to overthrow their buildings and dwellings, and to close the way by sea which was their only way of obtaining supplies, thus reducing them to extreme straits. The position of the Kârla hill was such that the only way to Revdanda by sea lay past it, and after a fort had been built on its summit it would be impossible even for birds to find a passage by that way. The *amîrs* and officers of state applauded this plan of the king's.

In spite of the fact that most of the *amîrs* and troops had been detached to Berar, which was on the frontier of Akbar's empire and was, as was then rumoured, likely to be attacked by Sultân Murâd, of the fact that the grounds of quarrel between Burhân Nizâm Shâh and Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh had not been entirely removed, and of the fact that 'Imâd Khân with a number of the best known *amîrs* had been detached to the assistance of Muḥammad Qulî Qutb Shâh, Burhân Nizâm Shâh, having resolved to wage a holy war against the infidels, paid no heed to other enemies, but commanded all *amîrs* then present at court to prepare themselves and their troops for a holy war against the unbelievers.

In accordance with the royal command, Farhâd Khân the African, who was one of the slaves of the court, prepared to march against the misbelieving Franks and was invested with a robe of honour and appointed to the command of the expedition, and I'timâd Khân, *sar-i-naubat* of the left wing, was appointed *sar-i-naubat* and muster master of the force, and assistant to Farhâd Khân, and a large number of the famous *amîrs*, such as Shujâ'at Khân, Tâj Khân, Bajlah Khân, Bahâdur Khân, Nasir-ul-Mulk, Âne Râo, Kâmil Khân, Muhtabî Khân and Shaikh Farîd Râja, who commanded all the *silâhdârs*, with most of the *hawâldârs* and officers of the army, and all the troops—Africans, Turks, Dakan's, and Khurâsânîs—were appointed to the army under the command of Farhâd Khân, and on Tuesday, Sha'ban 2, marched towards the port of Revdanda—an army such as had never marched to battle before.³⁴⁷

Fahîm Khân, who was an old servant of the Nizâm Shâhî dynasty, and had long been governor of the whole of the Konkan, was now appointed, on account of his intimate knowledge of that country, to be special assistant to Farhâd Khân and his army. Bakhtyâr Khân, *sarpardadâr*, who was a specially trusted servant of the king, was appointed to the command of all the infantry, gunners, archers and spearmen of the expedition—a very large force—and

³⁴⁶ Firishta (ii, 302) calls this hill Khorla. According to the Portuguese account, the commander of the 'Moorish' settlement on the opposite side of the river, who had once been in the service of the Portuguese, 'had collected on a height called the Morro a body of 4,000 horse and 7,000 infantry, with which he overawed the Portuguese city, and inflicted considerable damage on the place with sixty-five large cannon which he had placed there'—Danvers, ii, 88, 89.

³⁴⁷ The date here given is equivalent to May 4, 1593, but according to the Portuguese account:—"The Moors began a regular siege of Chaul in April, 1592." It is clear that hostilities began some time before Farhâd Khân was appointed to the command of the besieging force, for Firishta says that the Portuguese, before his arrival, had already made two successful night attacks on the Muslims, killing, on each occasion, two or three thousand Dakanîs, at whose destruction Burhân Nizâm Shâh secretly rejoiced. The Muslims were at first commanded by 'the eunuch Taladar,' who was wounded and died. A Turk who succeeded him was also killed, and Farhâd Khân, who arrived from Ahmadnagar with 10,000 horse, then took command of this besieging force. The Portuguese were also reinforced by sixty grabs laden with fighting men and munitions of war, according to Firishta. The Portuguese account is more explicit: "Dom Alvaro de Abranches shortly arrived with a reinforcement of 300 men from Bassein and 200 men from Surat, and the garrison then consisted of 1,500 Portuguese and about an equal number of slaves." Firishta says that on July 17, 1593, 1,000 Portuguese and many African slaves attacked Khorla and were defeated, 100 Portuguese and 200 other Christians being slain, and Burhân II gave a great banquet to celebrate this victory. The Portuguese account does not mention this reverse.—F. ii, 302, 303; Danvers, ii, 89.

marched with them for the land of the unbelievers. Asad Khān, one of the trusted servants of the kingdom, who was distinguished for his political wisdom and had for a long time held the office of *pishvā* and *vakil*, as has been said, and who was also unequalled in the art of besieging and reducing fortresses and in his knowledge of artillery, was sent, in company with Rūmi Khān, who was also one of the most famous artillerists of the Dakan and was in command of the artillery of Burhān Nizām Shāh, with the heavy artillery of Ahmadnagar to overwhelm the polytheists.

The zeal of Burhān Nizām Shāh against the polytheists was such that he continually went in person to the gun park and urged the expediting of the dispatch of the artillery, until at length all the great guns were sent against the Franks.³⁴⁸

CVII.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE PUNISHMENT OF SOME FOES IN THE GUISE OF FRIENDS
WHO, THOUGH IN THE SERVICE OF BURHĀN NIZĀM SHĀH, WERE SECRETLY
LEAGUED WITH HIS ENEMIES AND ENDEAVOURING TO BRING ABOUT
THE RUIN OF THE KINGDOM.

In the meantime, while the army was being despatched against the polytheists, the king received news from the *kotwāl* of the fortress of Jond that a number of rebels, headed by that chief of rebels and enemy of the family of the prophet—Amjad-ul-Mulk the *Mahdavi*—Amjad-ul-Mulk, had formed the design of rebelling and had sent a large sum to the *nāikwāris* of that fort to induce them, by some means or other, to set free the prince Ismā'il, the son of Burhān Nizām Shāh, who had himself been king, and to hand him over to them, in order that he might become the nucleus of a rebellion.³⁴⁹

Burhān Nizām Shāh, who was under God's special protection, although he knew all about the actions of these seditious persons, had, nevertheless, been indisposed to punish before any overt act had been committed. Now, however, that the treason of these traitors had been exposed and they had been shown in their true light by the petition of the *kotwāl* of the fortress, and the petition of Rashid-ul-Mulk, the Bijāpūr envoy, the king set himself to prevent the rebellion before it had actually broken out, and issued an order summoning the wicked Amjad-ul-Mulk from his *jāgīr*, where he had been compelled to dwell by a royal *farmān*, to court, in order that his case might be tried and that he might be handed over to the police officer in the event of his guilt being proved.

Mahallidār Khān, in accordance with the royal command, went to summon the rebel and dragged him to the royal court. After he had been tried, a number of his fellow conspirators who had been concerned in his plot, were brought to trial, and were sentenced to

³⁴⁸ Sayyid 'Alī does not mention the disgraceful end of the expedition to Chaul. Firishta says (ii, 3. 4, 305) that on the night of Friday, September 13, 1593, 4,000 Portuguese attacked Khorla. Taj Khān and Ane Rao were encamped without the fort with a force and bore the first brunt of the attack. The gates of the fort were opened to admit the fugitives but could not be shut in time to exclude their pursuers, and the Portuguese followed them into the fort and began to lay about them. The uproar awoke Farhād Khān, Asad Khān, and the other *amīrs* from their sleep, but they were too confused to devise any measure of defence, and the slaughter continued. Ten or twelve thousand Muslims were slain and Farhād Khān and his wife and daughter were taken alive. His wife was ransomed, but he and his daughter became Christians and went to Portugal. The Portuguese account places the number of the killed at 10,000 "whilst others have stated that they amounted to 60,000." The spoils were considerable, and of the Portuguese only twenty-one were killed. (Danvers, ii, 90.) Firishta (ii, 304) attributes the apathy of the officers to disaffection caused by the tyranny of Burhān II, and adds that Burhān regarded this slaughter of the Dakanis as a victory.

³⁴⁹ Burhān II had from the first been obnoxious to the Dakanis and Africans, and there had been more than one plot to depose him and restore his son Ismā'il. Sayyid Amjad-ul-Mulk, though a Foreigner, had adopted the *Mahdavi* religion, the professors of which were chiefly Dakanis and Africans. Firishta does not mention Amjad-ul-Mulk's plot.

be flayed alive, while Amjad-ul-Mulk, who had been a traitor to his master and benefactor and had earned the reward of his treason, was blinded, but as this was not all the punishment due to his treason, after his eyes had been torn out and he had been subjected to blindness, which is the worst of punishments, the lord of hell hastened to receive his wicked spirit and reunited him with the evil Jamâl Khân and the other lords of error who had been his companions, and it was proved to the world that the way of transgressors is hard and their end evil.

CVIII.—AN ACCOUNT OF SOME OF THE ACTS OF JUSTICE OF BURHÂN NIZÂM SHÂH, WHICH WERE PERFORMED ABOUT THIS TIME.³¹⁰

In the course of these events it was reported to the king that Sayyid Nûr Muhammad Amin, who had proceeded as an ambassador, Jalâl-ud-din Muhammad Akbar Padshâh, to the court of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh II, was returning from Bijâpûr and had arrived within a short distance of Ahmadnagar, and the king decided, in view of the service formerly rendered by him to the Nizâm Shâhî dynasty, to honour him by summoning him to the capital and entertaining him, and by the royal command the learned and distinguished Sayyid Qanûm, who was one of the king's most intimate courtiers, was sent to invite Nûr Muhammad Amin, whom he found in the neighbourhood of the capital, and brought to court. When he arrived at the outskirts of the garden of the 'Ibâdatkhâna, a number of the nobles, such as Miyan Manjihû Jâmi Begi, Sharza Khân, *sar-i-naubat* of the right wing, and other officers of the army, went forth by the royal command to welcome the Sayyid, and brought him to the outskirts of the garden of the watercourse where they lodged him. After that great quantities of fodder, of food, drink, and all sorts of fruits were sent for use of the Sayyid and his followers, the plain being loaded with these evidences of royal generosity.

After Nûr Muhammad Amin had been thus royally entertained at a banquet, it was reported to the king in a petition from Nûr Muhammad Tâhîr Mîrânî that when he was ambassador from Qazvîn Shâh to 'Âdil Shâh it had been reported to that king that Nûr Muhammad Amin had oppressively possessed himself of the property of certain merchants who were travelling in the same direction as he was. The petition expressed a hope that the king would not pass over such tyranny but would see that those who had suffered wrong were righted. Now, although the offence had not been committed within the dominions of Ahmadnagar, the king's sense of justice, hatred of oppression, and benevolence towards all who were desolate and oppressed were such that he determined to right the wrong. In spite of what was agreeable to that Sayyid in particular, and to all other Sayyids in general, and in spite of Nûr Muhammad Amin's high post in the service of so mighty a monarch as Jalâl-ud-din Muhammad Akbar, who had for nearly 40 years sat upon the imperial throne, ruling over most of the countries of Hind, Sind, Kabul, Kashmir, Bengal, Mîlwa, Gajarât and Saurâst, and was above all the kings of the earth by reason of the numbers and strength of his armies—in spite of all these considerations—

³¹⁰ Sayyid 'Alî in all his petitions acts of justice, but not his tyranny. During the reign of Chahûl he formed the habit of seizing and dispossessing the wives and daughters of his subjects. He once married Shajvat Bîbi the Afghân, one of his chief ladies, to one of his nobles, and before long she had him imprisoned and had his wife brought to the capital by a slave. The lady did not find favour in his eyes and he sent her away unmarried, but in the meantime Shajvat Bîbi had married another noble, establishing himself in the nobility. The king's act caused a storm of indignation, and the officers at Chahûl neglected their duty and thought of nothing but returning to Afghânistan and deplored the tyrant.—*Ham. Soc.*

Then Ahmad (Nizâm) Shâh, taking with him all the cash and valuables that were in the treasury, nearly 300 elephants, the whole of the artillery, all the insignia and paraphernalia of royalty, and about 8,000 horse who had chosen to accompany him and to serve him, retired disgracefully on Friday, Rabi II, 20 (December 23, A.D. 1595) to Bir.³⁶⁸

A number of the great nobles and officers of state, such as Afzal Khân, who had more experience of the service of kings than any of his contemporaries, now privately assured Chând Bibi Sultân of their fidelity to her and entered the service of the Nizâm Shâhî house. Also Maulânâ Shams-ud-dîn Muhammad Lâri, the ambassador of Ibrâhîm 'Adil Shâh II, Maulânâ Hâjî Isfahânî, the ambassador of Muhammad Qulî Qutb Shâh, Habib Khân, who was at that time made an *amîr* and a local governor, the Sayyid Mir Zamân Rizavî-yi-Mashhadî, and a large number of other Foreigners, of whom the author was one, withdrew from public affairs, and being no longer content to be associated with Miyân Manjhû preferred the service of the Queen to the company of that chief of evil men.

Miyân Manjhû, fearing the opposition of the Foreigners, sent a messenger to Safîdar Khân, governor of the city of Burhânâbâd, ordering him to bring all the Foreigners, whether they would or not, with all the artillery, firearms, and munitions of war belonging to the government, to the royal camp. Safîdar Khân, Habib Khân, Asad Khân, and some other Foreigners were thus compelled to march, whether they would or not, and join the camp of Miyân Manjhû, but a number of other (Foreign) officers sat at home, closed their doors to the world, and refused to join the army of Miyân Manjhû.

When Chând Bibi Sultân heard of the flight of the traitors and revolutionists, she devoted the whole of her attention to the settling of the affairs of the faith and of state and to strengthening the foundations of the realm and the monarchy and repairing the breaches caused by the recent disorders. . . . being, . . . ³⁶⁹ of the royal family, had been from time to time when he came to years of discretion, always scrupulously observant of the orders issued by royal authority, and firm in his obedience thereto, especially during the supremacy of Miyân Manjhû, and had always entered into engagements with Afzal Khân regarding the repelling of the enemies of the state and evolved effectual plans to this end, now that Miyân Manjhû had left the capital empty and retreated, Chând Bibi Sultân sent for Afzal Khân and Muhammad Khân and urged them to oppose An'sâr Khân. As most of the chief men and nobles of the state had left the army of Miyân Manjhû, An'sâr Khân, *kotwâl* of the fortress of Ahmadnagar, becoming apprehensive of them, prepared, in pursuance of the instructions which he had received from Miyân Manjhû, to oppose them; and as he feared Muhammad Khân, who was the chief and leader of all the Dakanis, more than any of the others he regarded his overthrow as the most important of all the steps to be taken.

On Monday, therefore, Rabi-'us-sânî 23 (December 26, A.D. 1595) which day was in truth, the morning of the prosperity of the good, and the evening of the downfall of the foes of the state, having made all arrangements with his brethren and his partisans for slaying

³⁶⁸ Firishta says (ii, 312) that Miyân Manjhû and Ahmad Shâh retired to Ausa, in order to summon help from Bijâpûr and Golconda. Miyân Manjhû had three good reasons for retiring from Ahmadnagar. He was apprehensive of Chând Bibi, he feared to meet the imperial army in the field, and his position, as the statesman who had invited imperial intervention, would have been most embarrassing.

³⁶⁹ These blanks in the original MS. may be filled in as follows:—Muhammad Khân, son of Muhibbullâh . . . a connection Muhibbullâh had been the foster-brother of Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh.

Zamán displayed the valour which is ever the mark of Sayyids, and with a small force charged the compact mass of the Mughul army and scattered it. When the garrison of the fort saw the standards of the army of Ahmadnagar borne triumphantly aloft in the hour of victory, their courage was renewed and the despair and discouragement which had afflicted them disappeared, so that they took the field valiantly, confident of victory.

In the evening of the same day the army of the highborn and successful prince Sháh Murád, with his great *amirs* and *Kháns*, such as Mirzá Shábrukh, governor of Badakhshán, Shahbáz Khán, Sádiq Muhammad Khán, Sayyid Murtaẓá and the rest of the *amirs* and officers, an army swift to shed blood, covering with its hosts both mountain and plain, darkening the sun with its dust, and advancing like a tempestuous sea, arrived at the environs of the city, and encamped near the garden of the old watercourse, which is called the *Dāgh-i-Bihisht*, where the prince's pavilion was set up.

CX.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE SACK AND PLUNDER OF THE CITY AND COUNTRY WHICH DISGUSTED AND REPELLED BOTH GREAT AND SMALL.

This was one of the reasons why the Mughuls failed to capture the fort.³⁶² As soon as the prince, Sháh Murád, and the *Khánkhánán* heard of this oppression of the people, they did their utmost to check and prevent it, and executed a number of the plunderers in order to deter the rest, but nobody in the town or in the suburbs had any property left nor any shelter, for the very foundations of all the houses were so destroyed and obliterated that none could distinguish his own house from another's. As it was God's will that the plans of Akbar's army to capture the fort should fail, this occurrence was the cause of the undermining of the strength and the destruction of the power of the Mughul army and of the restoration of the hopes of the supporters of the Ahmadnagar monarchy, and this was, in truth, the first breach in the foundations of the enemies' fortunes and the cause of disgust in the minds of all, both small and great, in the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. This enabled them to understand the truth of the secret of the advantage of suffering a little loss to secure a great gain, for this wholesale wasting and plundering denuded the whole country of inhabitants and habitations and prevented all traffic through it, the result being that for three months the enemy had no communication of any sort with their own country and that a famine broke out in their camp, so that in that space of time no one, gentle or simple, so much as looked on rice, ghi, or other necessities of life, and this plundering, and the famine which ensued, became the cause of the enemy's retreat, as will shortly be described. Help and assistance are from God!

CXI.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE NIGHT ATTACK WHICH MUBINIZ-UD-DIN ABHANG KHÁN³⁶³ MADE ON THE MUGHUL ARMY, AND OF SOME OTHER EVENTS WHICH HAPPENED AT THE SAME TIME.

It has already been said that when the African *amirs*, owing to the evil results of their continual quarrels with one another, separated and were scattered, they dispersed to all parts of the kingdom. Of these *amirs*, Ikhlas Khán, 'Aziz-ul-Mulk, Balil Khán and others hastened

³⁶² According to the *Akbarnāma* and *Firishta* (ii, 313), Shahbáz Khán, a bigoted Sunni, was responsible for this atrocity. The policy of the prince and the *Khánkhánán* (a *Shi'ah*) was to conciliate the inhabitants, to whom, therefore, they proclaimed an amnesty, but on December 29 (December 30, according to *Firishta*, ii, 313) Shahbáz Khán ordered a massacre of the inhabitants of the city of Ahmadnagar and of the suburb of Burchanābād. The wretched people were plundered and slain, and Shahbáz Khán proceeded to plunder the building known as the Hospice of the Twelve Imāms. He was severely rebuked by the prince and the *Khánkhánán*, and many of his followers, caught plundering, were put to death. The outrage seriously injured the imperial cause.

³⁶³ The *Akbarnāma* agrees with Sayyid 'Alī in calling this *amir* Abhang Khán. *Firishta* ...
Abhang Khán, but this may be a scribe's error.

In the meantime an army was seen approaching the city from the north, and reached the neighbourhood of the 'idgâh. Some of them galloped up to the top of the 'idgâh hill, and the rest of them marched towards the city.³⁶¹

Nobody had had any idea that the army of the Mughuls was so near at hand. Some thought it to be the army of Sa'âdat Khân, while others thought that it was the army of the Africans. Shamsîr Khân sent a man out to them to ascertain the truth, and he returned with the news that the army was the Khânkhânân's and was the advanced guard of the Mughuls. When the nobles and the garrison of the fort learnt of the arrival of the Mughul army, they sent out some guns against them and opened fire upon them with a view to breaking their line, which had now reached the edge of the plain of the *Kâlâ Chabûtra*, and used their utmost endeavours in repairing and strengthening the defences and preparing every thing that was necessary for the siege.

As the day had now drawn on to evening the Khânkhânân's army did not halt longer in the neighbourhood of the fort, but retired and joined the Khânkhânân who had halted near the old garden of the watercourse, and kept careful watch all that night until the breaking of the true dawn on the following morning. Châud Bibi Sultân also paid attention to the needs of her subjects and appointed Muhammad Khân vakîl and *amîr-ul-umará* as a reward for his great services, entrusting to him the duty of fortifying and defending the fort, and warning him to exercise all possible care in the execution of these duties. The protection of the poor subjects living without the fort and the duty of meeting the enemy in the field were entrusted to Mujâhid-ud-dîn Shamsîr Khân, with whom were associated Nûr Muhammad Zamân and a number of other brave officers.

The next day was Tuesday, Rabî'-us-Sûnî 24 (December 27, A.D. 1595). The Khânkhânân, detaching a number of his chief officers to protect the city and Burhânâbâd and to look to the safety of the poor inhabitants, proclaimed a general amnesty to all, both small and great. A number of the poor and weak dwellers in the suburbs, who had remained in their houses because they had no means of transporting themselves and their property within the city, were much reassured by the proclamation of this amnesty, and took advantage of it to move into the fort and into other fortified posts.

On this day Nûr Muhammad Zamân was deputed to summon Sayyid Jalâl-ud-dîn Haïdar and brought that Sayyid and his noble sons to court, and Afzal Khân was deputed to summon the ambassadors of the Sultans of the Dakan and brought those two pillars of the faith and of the state to court; and on the same day a battle was fought between Mujâhid-ud-dîn Shamsîr Khân and his loyal army on the one side and a force of the Mughuls which had had the temerity to occupy the plain of the *Kâlâ Chabûtra* on the other, and in the battle Nûr Muhammad

³⁶¹ The advance of the imperial army had been delayed by the quarrels between Akbar's son, Sultân Murâd, viceroy of Gujarât, and the Khânkhânân. The prince had insisted on the Khânkhânân's joining him in Gujarât, that they might advance together on Ahmadnagar, but the Khânkhânân, with whom was Shâhrukh Mirzâ of Badakhshân, refused to march as a mere follower of the prince, and maintained that each should march from his own province and that they should converge on Ahmadnagar. The prince, angered by the Khânkhânân's dilatory movements, began his march on Ahmadnagar, and the Khânkhânân, leaving Shâhrukh Mirzâ with the guns, heavy baggage, and main body of his army, hastened forward and met the prince on December 11, 1595, at Chândûr (20° 19' and 74° 15' E.). Here he shewed so little respect to the prince that for some time the latter would not receive him formally, and their relations were further embittered by a violent quarrel between Sâdiq Muhammad Khân, the prince's tutor, and Shâhbâz Khân, one of the Khânkhânân's chief *amîrs*. However the army advanced and the Khânkhânân arrived before Ahmednagar as stated here and by Firîshhta (ii, 312) on December 26, 1595. See *Akbarnâma*.

way, was unguarded by the Mughuls, and on the evening of Saturday, Rabî-uṣ-ṣanî 28 (December 30, A.D. 1595), Mirân Shâh 'Alî and Mubâriz-ud-dîn Abhang Khân with their valiant army, entered the fort by the road which the spy had indicated.³⁶⁶

The strange thing was that on that morning Shâh Murâd had ridden round the fort in order to inspect the works and to apportion the posts to the corps of his army, and had assigned the eastern side, where ran the Tisgâon road and the high road by which the army was to come, to the Khânkhânân and that on the evening of the same day the Khânkhânân marched from the neighbourhood of the *Namâzgâh* to the garden of the 'Ibâdat-Khâna, which stood in the road of the army of Mirân 'Alî Shâh and Mubâriz-ud-dîn Abhang Khân, and there encamped with his army.³⁶⁷ On that dark night the whole of the Khânkhânân's corps, having no expectation of the arrival of the enemy, slept the sleep of negligence, without having taken any of the ordinary precautions against surprise. When two watches of the night had passed Mirân 'Alî Shâh and Mubâriz-ud-dîn Abhang Khân marched up with their brave army and became aware of the encampment of the Mughuls at the garden of the 'Ibâdat-Khâna. Finding the Mughuls asleep and defenceless they fell upon them and began to slay them. When the Khânkhânân's negligent corps awakened confusedly from their sleep, they found that they were being attacked by a fierce enemy, that the way of escape was closed on every side, and that death was staring them in the face; they found that no course but to fight bravely was open to them, and they therefore prepared to resist their enemy and to gain a name as soldiers. Some fought at the doors of their tents and some, leaving their own belongings, made for the tent of the Khânkhânân.

The army of the Dakan, when they found tents empty of their owners, cast prudence and caution to the winds, and proceeded to plunder the enemy's goods; but Mubâriz-ud-dîn Abhang Khân, with a resolute body of men, made a stand near the pavilion of the Khânkhânân and there kept his flag flying for nearly two astrological hours, fighting manfully with the enemy the while. The Khânkhânân, taking with him a body of expert archers, retired to the roof of the building in which he lodged and poured showers of arrows and shot and a fire of musketry on Abhang Khân and his followers, until by degrees the numbers of those around the Khânkhânân grew ever greater and greater, while the army of the Dakan melted away in search of plunder. When Abhang Khân saw that the enemy had grown strong and that there was no longer any hope of a successful attack on them, he retreated towards the fort, taking with him the son of Mirân Shâh 'Alî, while Shâh 'Alî himself and the troops with him retreated by the road by which they had come³⁶⁸ and were pursued by Daulat Khân Lodi, one of the *amirs* of the Khânkhânân's army, who captured and slew many of his men.³⁶⁹

Mubâriz-ud-dîn Abhang Khân, however, with the son of Mirân Shâh 'Alî, and a large force, contrived to reach the gate of the fort in the darkness of the night and increased the confidence and raised the spirits of the garrison a thousand-fold. The chamberlains of the court, by the orders of Chând Bibî Sultân, led Mubâriz-ud-dîn Abhang Khân and the

³⁶⁶ In the *Akbarnâma* a very misleading account of this affair is given. It is said that on December 31 Shâh 'Alî and Abhang Khân led a night attack on the Khânkhânân's lines, but were defeated and driven back into the city with heavy loss. The Khânkhânân was blamed for not capturing them. It was the city that they were trying to reach, and Abhang Khân attained his object. 'Alî Shâh did not enter the city, but fled. His son Murtaẓâ, afterwards Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh II, entered the city with Abhang Khân.

³⁶⁷ Sultân Murâd had inspected the trenches and, finding that there were none on this side of the city, had ordered the Khânkhânân to take his post there. F. ii, 314.

³⁶⁸ 'Alî Shâh was an old man of seventy who had for many years lived a retired life in Bijâpûr and was loth to incur the dangers and hardships of active service or to enter the disturbed arena of Ahmadnagar politics. F. ii, 313, 315.

³⁶⁹ About 900. F. ii, 315.

to Daulatâbâd, the garrison of which fortress, acting in concert with them, raised to the throne a person called Motî, whom they entitled Motî Shâh, and raised the standard of independence and of opposition to all others.

In the same way Mubâriz-ud-dîn Abhang Khân also hastened to Bijâpûr for the purpose of securing possession of the person of some member of the royal family of Ahmadnagar who could be set up as heir to the kingdom. Here he found Mirân Shâh 'Alî, the son of the late Burhân Nizâm Shâh I, who was living under the protection of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh II, and his son, who was then twenty years of age, and took them, with a body of troops, into the Bîr district where, with a view to composing the affairs of that district and to conquering the rest of the kingdom, he assembled large numbers of the army which was scattered and dispersed throughout the district. Miyân Manjhû from fear of the Mughul army had also fled into the Bîr district, taking Ahmad Shâh with him, so now Chând Bibî Sultân, whose endeavours were ever directed to what was best for the state, and to the good administration of the kingdom, sent a trusty servant with her own sign manual to Mubâriz-ud-dîn Abhang Khân forbidding him to fight with Miyân Manjhû and his followers, and ordering him to repair at once to Daulatâbâd and there to come to an agreement with, and join forces with the rest of the African *amîrs* and all who were still loyal, and to drive out the Mughul army.³⁶⁴

In obedience to the queen's command Mubâriz-ud-dîn Abhang Khân, with Mirân Shâh 'Alî and about 5,000³⁶⁵ horse, ready for battle, marched to Daulatâbâd, and when the news of his approach with Mirân Shâh 'Alî reached Ikhlas Khân and the rest of the African *amîrs*, they, owing to their former disputes with Abhang Khân, would not accept Mirân Shâh 'Alî. They took counsel among themselves, saying: "We have raised a king to the throne and elevated the royal umbrella over his head, and have drawn into our own hands the management and means of managing all the affairs of the kingdom. Now for no reason whatever, to depose our king and to acknowledge Shâh 'Alî, the *protégé* of Abhang Khân, and to place ourselves under the orders of our enemy, can lead to nothing but shame and repentance. They therefore refused to join themselves to Mubâriz-ud-dîn Abhang Khân, or to acknowledge Mirân Shâh 'Alî, and declined either to see them or to have any communication with them, but a force of about 500 of the best cavalry, *silâhdârs* and other brave men, deserted Ikhlas Khân and joined the army of Shâh 'Alî and Abhang Khân.

When Mirân Shâh 'Alî and Mubâriz-ud-dîn Abhang Khân had given up all hopes of coming to an agreement with Ikhlas Khân and the rest of the African *amîrs*, they reported the whole matter to Chând Bibî Sultân and said that they were willing to bring their army to Ahmadnagar and to do their utmost both to assist in defending the fort and in engaging the enemy in the field. The queen issued an order directing them to come, and they marched towards the city. When they approached the suburbs they sent a spy to inquire which entrance to the fort was unwatched and guarded by the Mughuls. The spy returned and reported that the eastern side of the fortress, on which was a high road to Tisgâon and the public high-

³⁶⁴ Firishta mentions (ii, 313) the confusion prevailing in the state of Ahmadnagar owing to the existence of irreconcilable factions, of which there were no less than four:—(1) Miyân Manjhû, on the Bijâpûr frontier, acknowledging the impostor, Ahmad Shâh; (2) Ikhlas Khân and his party, near Daulatâbâd, acknowledging the impostor, Motî Shâh; (3) Abhang Khân, on the Bijâpûr frontier, acknowledging the pretender, 'Alî Nizâm Shâh, son of Burhân Nizâm Shâh I; and (4) Chând Bibî, in Ahmadnagar, acknowledging the heir of line, the infant Bahâdur, son of Ibrâhîm Nizâm Shâh, who was imprisoned in Jond.

³⁶⁵ Firishta (ii, 314) says 7,000 horse.

pressed. He distributed most of the valuable stuffs taken among his army while the right-ful owners wandered barefoot and bareheaded about his door day and night, crying for justice but unable to obtain from their own stores sufficient for their bodies.³⁷⁵ This matter displeased Shâh Murâd and he returned from the *Farah Bakhsh* garden to Bhingar. On his way two of the *Khânkhânân*'s personal staff came up to him and received evidence of his wrath against the *Khânkhânân*.

Sâdiq Muḥammad *Khân*, now again acquired great influence as *vakil* while the *Khânkhânân* remained for some days in the *Farah Bakhsh* garden engaged in pleasure, paying no attention whatever to the siege operations. The prince, however, was in the trenches from morning to evening, directing the operation and revolving plans for the reduction of the fortress. Once more a number of councillors formed a council without consulting the *Khânkhânân*, and brought him from the *Farah Bakhsh* garden to the lines around Ahmadnagar so that he was compelled to take at least an apparent interest in the siege, and detached part of his own corps to the neighbourhood of the *Kâlâ Chabûtra*, which is opposite to the gate of the fort.

Traditions of the old friendship between Râja 'Ali *Khân*, ruler of *Khândesh*, still remained, and he maintained an uninterrupted intercourse with those within the fort, so that they were enabled, by his means, to introduce into the fort any supplies that they might require, and occasionally, when a body of gunners came from the other forts in the kingdom to reinforce those in Ahmadnagar, they were able to enter the fortress by the help of Râja 'Ali *Khân* and greatly strengthened the defence. When this matter became known to the prince he removed Râja 'Ali *Khân* from the position which he occupied and placed that section of the trenches under the command of Râja Jagannâth, who was one of the great Râjpût *amirs*, and thus all ingress and egress was stopped. In the course of the siege, and while it was at its height, Râja 'Ali *Khân*, ruler of *Burhânpûr*, being instigated thereto by Akbar's *amirs*, sent to Chând Bibî Sultân a letter saying "I purposely accompanied the Mughul army into this country for the purpose of preserving the honour of the Nizâm Shâhî dynasty. I know well that this fortress will, in a short time, be captured by the Mughuls. See that you shun not the fight but protect your honour and surrender this fort at the last to the prince, and he will give you in exchange for it any fort and any district in this country that you may choose. The honour of the Nizâm Shâhî house is, owing to the connection between us, the same to me as the honour of my own house, and it is for this reason that I, laying aside all fear of arrow or bullet, have come to the gate of the fort, and I will bring Chând Bibî Sultân to my own camp."

When the defenders received this letter their dismay and confusion were greatly increased and they were struck with terror, for they had relied greatly on Râja 'Ali *Khân*, and they now almost decided to surrender, but Afzal *Khân* did his best to pacify them and to calm their fears, and sent Râja 'Ali *Khân* a reply saying, "I wonder at your intellect and policy in sending such a letter to Chând Bibî Sultân and that you should endeavour to destroy this dynasty. It was you who went forth to greet the Mughul army and it was you that brought them into this country, and the Sultans of the Dakan will not forget this. Soon, by the grace of God, the Mughul army will have to retreat and then Chând Bibî Sultân will be in communication, as before, with the Sultans of the Dakan. It will then be for you to fear the vengeance of the brave men of the Dakan and to tremble for your house and for

³⁷⁵ It is admitted in the *Akbarnâma* that the inhabitants of Paithan had been included in the general amnesty and that the plunder of the town was a breach of faith which seriously injured the imperial cause.

supererogatory devotions, the mines were filled powder and tamped with mud and stones and left till the morning, at which time the sentries who have watched all night, take their rest and the guards generally are negligent, when the mines were to be fired in order that the wall of the fort might be thrown down and that the besiegers might rush in through the breach and make themselves masters of the place. But as it was decreed that the fortress was not to be taken, Khyāja Muhammad Khân,³⁷⁹ who had been a high official in Fars and was of the *razzādas* of Shirāz and was a man distinguished by his fidelity and singleness of heart, ascertained the position of the enemy's mines, and at the risk of his life, obtained an entrance into the fort and set all the people therein, both great and small, to digging countermines. They struck one of the enemy's mines and removed the charge, filling its place with stones and earth. When the sun rose they struck another of the enemy's mines, not yet charged, which they left alone. They then began to look for the third mine. Sâdiq Muhammad Khân ordered the firing of the mines to be delayed until after midday, as the day was Friday, Rajab 1, a day on which fighting is unlawful, and this delay was the salvation of the defenders, for they had been toiling all night in the countermines and were weary in the morning, so that they were compelled to return to their homes for some rest, and if the besiegers had fired the mines, then it is possible that the assault would have been successful, as the defenders would have had no information of the affair and would have been absent, but as fate had decreed that the fortress should be saved from the enemy, the defenders were mysteriously strengthened at every turn.

From the early dawn of Friday Shāh Murād and Sâdiq Muhammad Khân were employed in assembling their troops, in preparing everything necessary for the assault, and in issuing orders for the parading of the corps of the *amîrs* under the walls of the fortress. These orders were proclaimed to all the army by heralds, and the army paraded in force and surrounded the fort of Ahmadnagar like a tempestuous sea.

Shāh Murād took the field against the fortress in person, but all the *amîrs* and great Khâns led their corps towards the Khânkhânân and Shahbâz Khân, whose conduct in the field was regulated by their desire to please the Shāhzâda Shaikhûji,³⁸⁰ who was opposed to the conquest of the Dakan.

When the whole army was drawn up, the fireworkers advanced and fired the mines. By this time the defenders had found two full mines and had removed their charges, and had also found an empty mine, the end of which they left open. The remaining mines, however, blew up with a terrific report, and destroyed about 50 yards of the wall.³⁸¹ A force of the enemy which had been halted near the ditch and was waiting for the firing of the mine, threw themselves into the ditch and rushed forward towards the breach, and as it seemed probable that other sections of the wall would fall, the rest of the army awaited their fall, in order that they might make a combined assault and capture the fortress. Many of the stones which were blown into the air fell on these men and killed many of them, and as

³⁷⁹ Khyāja Muhammad Khân Shirāzi was in the army of Sultân Murād. His treachery is not mentioned in the *Akbarnāma*, but *Firishta* says (ii, 316) that he gave information to the garrison out of pity for them.

³⁸⁰ Shaikhûji or Shaikhû Bâbâ was Akbar's pet name for his oldest son, prince Salim, afterwards the emperor Jahāngir. This passage illustrates the extent to which the army was honeycombed with treason. Akbar had ordered that Ahmadnagar should be captured, but because the drunken and disaffected Salim was loth that his brother Murād should gain glory in the Dakan, many of the *amîrs* were determined that the siege should not be carried to a successful conclusion. Other influences were at work. The Khânkhânân, who was a Shiah, was unwilling to drive the Shiah dynasty of Ahmadnagar to extremities and was perhaps implicated in the treachery of the Shiah Khyāja Muhammad Khân.

³⁸¹ So also *Firishta* (ii, 316) but in the *Akbarnāma* it is said that only thirty yards of the wall were destroyed.

there was also a large body of the defenders engaged in countermining close to the wall, many of these also were killed by the stones. Other bodies of the defenders, who were further from the wall, when they saw the great breach made by the mines, fled³⁸² for fear of falling stones, and some betook themselves to the palace of Chānd Bibi Sultān. The *amīrs* and officers of the army, who had been in their own quarters when they heard of the great disaster that had happened, hastened at once, in confusion, in the direction of the breach. Of these, Mujāhid-ud-dīn Shamshīr Khān and Mubārīz-ud-dīn Abhang Khān arrived first at the breach, and with arrow, sword, and spear opposed the entry of the Mughls. Next came Muḥammad Khān and his sons and relations, Multān Khān, Ahmad Shāh,³⁸³ 'Alī Shīr Khān, and the rest of the *amīrs* and officers, one after the other, and occupied and held the breach against the enemy. A number of the principal Foreign officers, such as Afzal Khān, Maulānā Muḥammad, the ambassador of Muḥammad Qulī Qutb Shāh, Sayyid Mir Muḥammad Zamān, Mir Sayyid 'Alī Astarābādī, and Khvāja Husain Kirmānī, who, on account of the great valour which he displayed on this day, received the title of Tīr Andāz Khān, and all the rest of the Foreigners who were in their quarters and received news of what had happened, made with all speed for the breach and drove back the enemy with showers of arrows. Then some of the chief Foreign officers, among whom were the ambassadors of the other kings of the Dakan, went, by the advice of the nobles of the state, to the royal palace, and brought forth Chānd Bibi Sultān and brought her to the breach, where all the fighting was taking place. When the warriors saw the queen under the royal umbrella their courage increased a thousandfold and they drove back the enemy from the breach with a heavy fire of artillery and musketry and with showers of arrows. A heavy fire of artillery and musketry and showers of hand grenades were also rained on the enemy from the bastions, and this drove them from the ditch. So strenuous was the effort made by those who were loyal to the NiẒām Shāhī dynasty that Muḥammad Lārī, ambassador of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II, although he was quite ignorant of artillery, climbed in the heat of the fight, to the top of one of the bastions and set light to his patched robe, with which he fired several guns, doing great execution among the enemy. As soon as the news of the progress of Chānd Bibi Sultān in person to the breach was spread abroad, all men, both great and small, old and young, hastened thither in such numbers that the mass of them closed the breach, and they fought manfully together. They say that when Chānd Bibi Sultān reached the neighbourhood of the breach a number of elephant drivers drove their elephants in front of her that they might form a defence for her against the enemy. She, however, trusting entirely on God, forbade the elephant drivers to drive the elephants in front of her, and said, "Although suicide is unlawful and is repugnant to both reason and the holy law, I have brought with me a cup of poison in order that if (which God forbid) the enemy should take the fortress, I may drink the poison and so free myself from my enemies. Nevertheless, since it is certainly possible to attain martyrdom by means of wounds inflicted by the enemies of the faith and of the state, why should I attempt to avoid wounds given by the enemy?" Having regard to the sincerity and singleheartedness of Chānd Bibi Sultān, God saved from capture the fortress, which had actually already, one might almost say, fallen into the enemy's hands; and His decree for its safety issued. Thus, at the time when the wall was blown up, although the whole of the Mughul army was drawn up, ready and thirsting for the fray, and although many of the defenders who were near the breach were killed by the stones, and the rest fled, so that until the arrival of Mujāhid-ud-dīn Shamshīr Khān and Mubārīz-ud-dīn Abhang Khān the breach was void of defenders, in accordance with God's will Ṣīdīq Muḥammad Khān, expecting

³⁸² Among these were the son of 'Alī Shāh Murtaṣā, afterwards Murtaṣā NiẒām Shāh II, Abhang Khān, Shamshīr Khān, and Afzal Khān. F. ii, 316.

³⁸³ This Ahmad Shāh must not be confounded with Miẓān Manjhu's candidate for the throne. He was probably a Sayyid, to whom the title of Shāh is often given in India.

the explosion of other mines and the destruction of another section of the wall, would not allow all his men to rush into the breach at once and thus gain the victory with ease, while the small force which rushed into the ditch in front of the others, and reached the breach, halted when they found that none followed them, and by the time that the rest of the Mughul army had given up all hope of the explosion of other mines and of the destruction of more of the wall, the garrison had returned to the breach and were prepared to confront their enemy, and thus slew most of that force of the Mughuls which had entered the breach. While the battle was at its height an arrow struck Afzal Khân in the breast, but the ease of a talisman which he was wearing stopped the arrow and he received no manner of hurt. The rest of the Mughul army, seeing how the fight went, did not venture into the ditch but stood drawn up along its edge, as though fighting with the wall, and the battle waxed fierce. Although the Mughul army fought most fiercely and bravely, fate had decreed that they should not gain the victory, and they therefore gained nothing but shame for all their pains. Large numbers of them were slain by arrows, stones, gunshot and musketry, while many more were severely wounded and returned lamenting. The battle raged for the last four hours of the day until sunset, when the enemy retreated without having gained any advantage, and fell back out of the range of the heavy fire and retired to their quarters.

Chând Bibi Sultân, however, remained where she was, and directed the builders to repair the wall of the fort and its foundations, and exercised such close supervision over them that on that very day the builders rebuilt the wall of mud and stones to the height of four yards, thus closing the breach to the enemy, heaping grenades and gunpowder behind the wall to act as a sufficient obstacle to the enemy. The queen next turned her attention to the defenders of the fort, who now had some respite from the fray, and encouraged them to further efforts by acts of royal favour and generosity. Of the Foreigners, Khvâja Husain Kirmânî, who had displayed great valour and done great execution with his bow, sending many of the bravest of the enemy to the next world, was honoured with the title of Tîr Andâz Khân, and Hasan Âqâ Turkmân received the title of Qizilbâsh Khân. Chând Bibi Sultân then exhorted all the troops to be watchful and on their guards, and then returned to her quarters.

Shâh Murâd, whose prestige had received a severe blow and whose object had not been attained, was plunged in thought and anxiety, and shed tears of disappointment. He took council with his *amîrs* touching the reduction of the fortress until the morning. At sunrise Shâh Murâd again drew up his forces and advanced towards the breach. When he reached the ditch he wished to press on to the attack of the fortress at once, but a number of his *amîrs*, who were in attendance on him, seized his reins and prevented him from entering the ditch or from engaging personally in the fight. Following the advice of his loyal friends, the prince dismounted from his horse at the edge of the ditch and urged his troops on to battle, encouraging them with promises of favour and advancement. He sent one of his officers to the Khânkhânân to ask him for help, but the Khânkhânân, making his former *zâd* his pretext, refrained from participating in the battle, and the prince in his zeal and paternal pride, ordered his own troops to attack the fortress with the utmost vigour and to take the men. A body of *Aladîs* and special *mansabdârs*, who were the bravest of the Mughul army, attacked the fort with the utmost determination.³⁶⁴ The defenders were encouraged by the success which they had had the day before, in spite of the ruin of a part of the wall, and also by their success in repairing the damage done and by the thought that they had so piled explosives against the wall as to make it like the gate of hell. They were

³⁶⁴ *Aladîs* were troopers of a superior class, like the "gentlemen of the horse" in the days of the Mughals. They were officers commanding less than 200 horse. Some were ranked as *amîrs*.

the army of the Dakan, which was very numerous and strong, was approaching prepared for battle, and that as it was now hopeless to attempt to take the fort, they should enter into some sort of an armistice with the garrison of the fortress and on this pretext retire from before it, and then march to meet Suhail Khân's army.

Sayyid Murtaẓâ,³⁸⁸ who was an old servant and subject of the Nizâm Shâhî dynasty, and ever bore in mind the favours which he had received from them, was appointed to arrange the terms of peace. Sayyid Murtaẓâ, on the advice of the prince and the *amîrs*, sent a letter to the fort, to the chief officers of state, asking them to send out an envoy empowered to treat for peace in order that some settlement might be arrived at, and the prince might entirely raise the siege and retire from before the fortress. Now although the garrison were hard pressed for want of food and provisions and earnestly desired peace—so much so that they could hardly refrain from agreeing to it on any terms, yet they thought that they perceived indications in the way in which Sayyid Murtaẓâ's letter was written, of weakness and supplication, for, since the invaders had failed in their object and now came suing for peace, the defenders were more hopeful of ultimate victory and success, and, lest the enemy should attribute too ready an acceptance of terms to a conviction of defeat, they wrote an answer to Sayyid Murtaẓâ saying that if a trustworthy agent were sent from the Mughul camp to the court of the *Salanat* and the *Khilâfat* to arrange the terms of peace, an ambassador would likewise be sent from the court to the camp in order that the terms might be concluded.

Sayyid Murtaẓâ then sent Mir Hâshim of Madinah, the *Bakhshî* of his corps, who was distinguished above his fellows for acumen, valour and ability, to the royal court, where he remained for ten days without receiving leave to depart, so that the Mughul *amîrs* became hopeless of a settlement, and disquieting rumours obtained currency in their camp. At length, however, the garrison prepared suitable gifts for Shâh Murâd, the Khânkhânân, Shahbâz Khân, and Sâdiq Muḥammad Khân. As the sincerity, purity of disposition, and complete good faith of 'Umdat-ul-Mulk, Afzal Khân Qumî, who was one of the pillars of the state and the most famous man of the kingdom, and had received the appointment of ambassador, in which he had rendered noteworthy services and displayed both wisdom and acumen, were agreed upon by all, Chând Bibî Sulṭân, by way of acknowledging his excellent services in general, but especially during the period of the siege, in which he had earned the approbation of all, appointed him *Nâ'ib* and *Pishvâ* of the kingdom, with the honourable title of Changiz Khân. He was likewise now appointed ambassador to Shâh Murâd, in order that by his wisdom and diplomatic ability peace might be concluded. In like manner Mir Muḥammad Zamân Rizavi, Mashhadî, was appointed envoy to the Khânkhânân, and Sayyid Shâh Bahrâm Astarâbâdî was appointed envoy to Shahbâz Khân, to treat for peace. On Sunday, Rajab 10 (March 11, A.D. 1596) which day was the beginning of happier times, these envoys left the fort in accordance with the royal command and set about the business of their mission. When news of the dispatch of the embassy reached Shâh Murâd, he commanded that the envoys should be lodged in the camp of Sayyid Murtaẓâ, in order that, when he should summon them, Sayyid Murtaẓâ might produce them before him. He then sent a messenger to summon the Khânkhânân, Shahbâz Khân, Râja 'Alî Khân, Sâdiq Muḥammad Khân, and the rest of the great officers and *amîrs*, and held a court at which the envoys might fitly be received. Sayyid Murtaẓâ then introduced Afzal Khân, now styled Changiz Khân, Mir Muḥammad Zamân and Shâh Bahrâm, and presented them to the prince. After the envoys had performed the *kûrnish* and *taslim* which are the forms of salutation observed at the court of the Chaghatâi Pâdshâhs, the prince and the Khânkhânân called them up and asked them the cause of the warfare and the object of their mission, and then began to speak of peace. Afzal-ul-Khawânin

³⁸⁸ This was Sayyid Murtaẓâ Sabzavâri, who had been governor of Berar in the reign of Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh I, had attempted to overthrow Şalâbat Khân, and on being defeated by him, had fled from the Dakan and taken refuge at Akbar's court. He was now commander of 1,000 horse in Akbar's service.

